FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-181
Monday
19 September 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-181 *19 September 1988*

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Foreign Minister Malile Continues FRG Visit 1
Holds Economic Talks 1
Visits Hannover, Hildesheim 1
Malile Meets Bavarian Premier 1
Returns Home 17 Sep 2
Parliamentary Delegation Departs for Bulgaria 2
Leaders' Public Appearances 11-17 Sep Noted 2
Economic Progress Report For 11-17 Sep 2

BULGARIA

CPSU's Zaykov Comments on Cooperation Pact *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Sep]* 3
Varna Activities, Departure 3
Atanasov Queried on Reform, Foreign Policy *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 15 Sep]* 3
Atanasov Continues Vienna Visit Activities 4
Visits Economic Chamber 4
Meets Austrian CP Leader Muhri 5
Ends Visit, Departs 5
Arrives in Sofia 5
BCP Announces Competition for Journal Editor *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 15 Sep]* 5
Leaders' Public Appearances Reported 8-16 Sep 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Explosives Damage Party Buildings in Pelhrimov *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Sep]* 8
USSR's Biryukova Arrives for Visit 8
Activities of General Secretary Jakes Noted 8
Visits Gottwaldov 12 Sep 8
Tours Brno Engineering Fair 8
Visits Races at Slusovice *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep]* 9
Attends RUDE PRAVO Festival 9
Energy Minister Views Uranium Industry Results *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep]* 9
Hanus Addresses Miners' Meeting on Plan Results *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep]* 10
Editorial Notes Need for 'Pluralism of Views' *[Bratislava PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 11

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Addresses Military Graduates 14 Sep *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Sep]* 13
Mittag Addresses Berlin Antifascist Rally *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12 Sep]* 16
Schabowski Views Importance of Party Elections *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 10-11 Sep]* 19

HUNGARY

Soviet Envoy Cited on USSR Ties With ROK 20
Defense Ministry on Visit of U.S. General 20
'No Nuclear Consequences' From Plant's 'Fault' 20
Further Reportage on Nagymaros Dam Issue 20
'Hundreds' Demonstrate 20
Group Protests Demonstrations 20
Government Spokesman Comments *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 8 Sep]* 21
Deputy Minister Interviewed *[Vienna Televison]* 21
Deputies Discuss Controversy 22
Nemeth Addresses Conference on Economy 23
More Companies 'Temporarily' Insolvent 23

Official Resumes Talks With Mecsek Miners 24
Trade Agreement Signed With USSR, Romania *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 13 Sep]* 24
Arriving Transylvanians Left Romania 'Illegally' 24
Daily Notes 'Drop' in Tourism With Romania *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 12 Sep]* 25
Democratic Forum Representative Interviewed *[Vienna KURIER 8 Sep]* 25
Opposition Members Hold Vienna News Conference *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 17 Sep]* 26

POLAND

Further on 16 Sep Kiszczak-Walesa Meeting 27
Roundtable To Begin Mid-October 27
Leadership on Solidarity *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Talks Participant Comments 27
19 Sep Sejm Session Previewed, Reported 28
Czyrek Predicts Change *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 19 Sep]* 28
Jaruzelski on Sejm's Authority 28
Debate Begins as Caucuses Meet 29
Sejm Session Opens 29
Jandy-Jedroszka Reports 30
Government Resignation Submitted *[AFP]* 31
Solidarity Demonstration at South Shrine 18 Sep *[AFP]* 31
Warsaw Notes Interview With Walesa on Solidarity 31
Walesa Interviewed on National Accord, Pluralism 32
'Military Backlash' Feared if Solidarity Legalized *[AFP]* 33
Malinowski on Recognizing Opposition Groups 33
Jaruzelski Chairs 'Party Tasks' Meeting 34
Council of Ministers Holds Session 18 Sep 34
Rakowski Interviewed on Strikes, Roundtable 34
Church Still Favors Trade Union Pluralism *[Hamburg DPA]* 38
Poznan TU Chairman Discusses Unions' Role *[GAZETA POZNANSKA 27-28 Aug]* 39
Witnesses to Militia Officer's Death Quoted *[POLITYKA 10 Sep]* 40
Jaruzelski Addresses Successful Farmers *[TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Sep]* 41

ROMANIA

UK's Lord Newall Received by Ceausescu 42
Meets Defense Minister Milea 42
LUMEA Review of All-European Conference Cited 42
Leaders' 11-17 Sep Public Appearances Reported 43

YUGOSLAVIA

Mikulic Addresses Internal Affairs Unit 44
Demonstrations Continue Over Kosovo Issue 47
50,000 at Montenegro Meeting 47
30,000 at Meeting in Cetinje 47
1,500 at Karavukovo Rally 47
10,000 Apatin Residents Rally 48
Kosovo Serbs Protest Meetings *[BORBA 5 Sep]* 48
Ratkovo Citizens Deomonstrate 48
Vojvodina Daily on Crvenka Slogan in Hungarian *[BORBA 8 Sep]* 49
Albanian Nationalist Pamphlets Found in Pristina 49
Presidium's Setinc Discusses Party, State Unity 49
Kucan Views Rallies, Extraordinary Congress *[BORBA 12 Sep]* 50
Milan Kucan Opposes 'Protest Rallies' 51
Marinc Says Meetings Are Not 'Right Way' 51
Provinces Oppose Serbian Stand on Rallies *[BORBA 7 Sep]* 51
Croat LC Secretary Comments on Vrhovec Mention *[POLITIKA 5 Sep]* 52
Belgrade Lawyers on Officials' Responsibility *[BORBA 12 Sep]* 52
Vojvodina Industry To Aid Kosovo Development 53
Veteran's Official Pekic Resigns 15 Sep 53

Commentary on Language in Military Courts *[Pjevic in BORBA 3-4 Sep]* 53
Army Paper Commentary on Rights Committee *[NARODNA ARMIJA 1 Sep]* 54
Milosevic Receives Macedonian LC Officials *[POLITIKA 14 Sep]* 57
Bosanska Krupa Metal Works Strike Ends 57
Teachers in Radovis Stage Pay Protest Rally 58
Commentator Sundic Lauds Gorbachev Proposals 58
Presidency Urges Acceptance of Nonaligned Summit 58
Mikulic Receives Hungary's Medgyessy 15 Sep 59
Medgyessy Talks With Officials *[MTI]* 59

Foreign Minister Malile Continues FRG Visit

Holds Economic Talks

AU1609173188 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, was received by the federal minister for economic cooperation of the FR of Germany, Dr Hans Klein, on September 15. In this meeting opinions were exchanged concerning the possibilities existing to find the suitable ways for the concretisation and further extension of the technical cooperation between our two countries.

The minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, had also a meeting with the state secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economy of the FR of Germany, Dr. Erich Riedl, with whom he discussed on several aspects of the bilateral economic cooperation, the forms of this cooperation and the possibilities and ways of its further extension. Opinions were also exchanged concerning the proceedings of the joint session of technical cooperation.

Attending these meetings were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Visits Hannover, Hildesheim

AU1609153688 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 16 (ATA)—Yesterday the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, left Bonn for a visit to the Land of Lower Saxony.

Yesterday too, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, was received at the seat of the Government of this Land in Hannover by the prime minister, Ernst Albrecht. He wished welcome to the foreign minister of Albania, Reis Malile, and briefed with some aspects of the economic and cultural development of Lower Saxony. He also said that the people of the Land of Lower Saxony cherish respect for the Albanian people, the important role they have played in the history of Europe. We are not close neighbours, the prime minister, Albrecht, emphasized, but both of us are on the European Continent and should better know each other. The visit of the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, he said further on, just like the other activities organised in the land of Lower Saxony in the framework of the cultural cooperation between the PSR of Albania and the FR of Germany, serves this end.

The foreign minister, Reis Malile, thanked for the friendly reception extended to him and expressed his satisfaction for visiting this Land. After stressing that the economic relations existing between Albania and Lower Saxony might be further promoted, Reis Malile said that the Albanian people have respect for the German people, for what they have contributed to the world culture. We, he said further on, are glad to see here your friendly feelings towards the Albanian people materialised in the cultural plan. The success of Hildesheim's exhibition on Albania, he said is also a result of the very good work done by the authorities of this Land and its organizers to present with dignity the Albanian history and culture.

The prime minister of the Land of the Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, gave an official dinner in honour of the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Yesterday afternoon, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, left the city of Hannover for Hildesheim, where he visited the archaeological exhibition "Treasures From the Country of the Albanians," and the exhibition of the Albanian caricature.

The director of the Hildesheim's museum, the institution which is initiator of the archaeological exhibition, Dr Arne Egerbrecht, in a talk conducted on this occasion, described it as historic and cultural treasure and unprecedented cultural event.

He said that until now the exhibition has been visited by more than 40,000 people and many others continue to visit it every day. Then, he presented the foreign minister, Reis Malile, with the catalogue of the exhibition "Treasures From the Country of the Albanians."

The foreign minister, Reis Malile, expressed the conviction that the cultural cooperation, which holds a special place in the general framework of the cooperation between the PSR of Albania and the FR of Germany, will recognise other achievements in the future.

During these visits, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, was accompanied by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Malile Meets Bavarian Premier

AU1709160088 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 17 (ATA)—During his official visit to the FR of Germany, the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, arrived for a visit in the Land of Bavaria. In this visit he was accompanied by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, and by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

The premier of the Land of Bavaria, Franz-Josef Strauss, received at his residence in Munich the foreign minister, Reis Malile, on September 16. After wishing him welcome, Premier Strauss expressed his satisfaction for this visit. Then he said that he had still fresh the impressions from the visits he had made in Albania and added that such contacts serve to the further strengthening of the friendly cooperation between the two countries in different fields of common interest.

The foreign minister, Reis Malile, expressed on his part the pleasure for this visit to the Land of Bavaria and for the meeting with Premier Strauss. He said that the present visit to the FR of Germany and the fruitful meetings and talks with top officials in Bonn and Lands will give an impetus to the expansion of the relations between the two countries in different fields of mutual profit.

During the talks, Premier Strauss and Foreign Minister Reis Malile spoke also on the possibilities existing for the further intensification of the economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation between the Land of Bavaria and Albania.

The premier, Franz-Josef Strauss said also to the foreign minister, Reis Malile, to transmit his greetings to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of PSR of Albania, Adil Carcani, together with the best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the Albanian people.

Returns Home 17 Sep

AU1709185088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who paid an official visit to the FRG at the invitation of Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister for foreign affairs and vice chancellor of the FRG, returned home today.

He was welcomed home at Rinas Airport by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Council of Ministers; Sofokli Lazri, Director of the Institute for the Study of International Affairs; Muhamet Kapllani, vice minister for foreign affairs; and other comrades.

Werner Daum, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Parliamentary Delegation Departs for Bulgaria

AU1709184988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] A delegation of the Albanian Parliamentary Group, headed by its chairman, Eleni Selenica, has left to participate in the proceedings of the 18th Interparliamentary Conference, to take place in Sofia in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Leaders' Public Appearances 11-17 Sep Noted

AU1709190288 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 11-17 September reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Foto Cami and Hajredin Celiku, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended a rally in the village of Peze, Tirana District, marking the 46th anniversary of the Conference of Peze, on 17 September. (1800 GMT 17 September)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a rally in a village in Korce District on 11 September commomorating the anniversary of the formation of a local partisan band. (1800 GMT 11 September)

Economic Progress Report For 11-17 Sep

AU1709190088 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 11-17 September carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Gjirokaster District exceeded its 8-month general industrial production plan by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 12 September)

Kruje District has exceeded its general industrial production plan to 10 September by 2.2 billion leks. (1800 GMT 14 September)

Librazhd District has exceeded its general industrial production plan to 10 September by 3 million leks. (1800 GMT 14 September)

Tropoje District exceeded its 8-month general industrial production plan by 1 percent. (1800 GMT 13 September)

CPSU's Zaykov Comments on Cooperation Pact

AU1709161288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 88 p 6

[Antonia Mechkova and Petur Punchev report: "Ratification Through Practical Actions Is Expected"]

[Excerpts] An agreement on the further development of cooperation among party, trade union, and youth organizations, as well as between the people's councils and labor collectives of Sofia and Moscow, was signed on 14 September 1988 in Sofia. [passage omitted]

Following the signing of the agreement, Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, made the following statement to journalists: "This is an important agreement as regards its scope and it reflects those fundamental changes in mutual relations between Moscow and Sofia which we have recently observed. While our agreements in the past were concluded mainly between the city party committees, or between the councils of the two capitals, the present agreement contributes to the consolidation of relations between workers' collectives and scientific-research institutions. We support these relations and this support was confirmed by our signatures on the document which is coming into effect today. This event marks the end of our visit to Sofia, and we would like to express our gratitude to the Sofia citizens for their cordial hospitality, in the hope of meeting again." [passage omitted]

Varna Activities, Departure

AU1609185388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, ended his visit to our country. Comrade Lev Zaykov made the following statement to BTA:

The visit to your country, my conversations with Communists and working people in Bulgaria convincingly demonstrated the strength of the fraternal relations between our two parties and peoples. They expressed the significance of the joint discussion of topical issues, and the search for the most effective methods of restructuring in our two countries, Lev Zaykov stated.

My extensive talk with Comrade Todor Zhivkov once more confirmed the strength and the indestructible nature of Bulgarian-Soviet relations in all spheres of our cooperation, he added.

On the last day of his visit to our country, Comrade Lev Zaykov, accompanied by Comrades Grisha Filipov and Ognyan Doynov, visited the Elektron Plant in Varna, which exports the major part of its production, which consists of radio navigation equipment for sea and river vessels, to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Zaykov also toured the "Golden Sands" seaside resort.

At Varna Airport the guest was seen off by Comrade Grisha Filipov, by leaders of the Varna Municipality, and by USSR Ambassador Viktor Sharapov.

Atanasov Queried on Reform, Foreign Policy

AU1509130688 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Maren Koester report: "Sofia's Prime Minister Denies Struggle for Power"]

[Text] Sofia—"The innovation processes in our country are receiving broad support everywhere, nobody can retard or inhibit them." In a talk with DIE PRESSE, Bulgarian Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov, who is arriving in Vienna today, Thursday, for a 3-day official visit, rejects speculations about the slackening of the speed of reforms as a result of the removal of leading reformers from their posts in the Central Committee and the Politburo in July. Among those eliminated were Chudomir Aleksandrov, who was regarded as Bulgaria's number two in the West, and Stoyan Mikhailov, who was responsible for ideological issues.

Such "personnel changes" in the state and party leadership are "quite ordinary" events; one cannot talk of a struggle for power between opponents and adherents of reorganization. Atanasov explicitly objects to the Zhivkov era being critically assessed by the Bulgarian mass media.

Atanasov on glasnost: "It is by no means inexplicable that our mass media do not have revelations to publish about difficulties or weaknesses in our past." According to the prime minister, they are rather expected to offer "detailed and credible information" about the process of reorganization. However, a "socialist pluralism of opinions" is absolutely welcome and a press law, "which is already being drafted," will provide the necessary legal guarantees for the protection of journalists.

Atanasov speaks in detail about the reorganization of Bulgarian enterprises. First, he concedes, the enterprises had reservations. But, since the beginning of the year, economic reform laws have been in force, and the economy has reacted to it.

Although there is no private sector in Bulgaria, "individual and collective work" is permitted, the prime minister stressed. But such activities are developing only slowly because of "former reservations." The three taxi cooperatives formed by "individual" car owners are

regarded as a positive example. In the sector of trade, catering, and tourism, the establishment of family businesses and cooperatives has been permitted lately.

The state enterprises no longer have plan targets. According to Atanasov, they receive information on the state plan and then prepare their own plans. Thus, they are free from patronage and restrictions. At the same time, however, they receive state orders. "This year, the state orders account for 35 percent of the gross social product."

Bulgaria wants to develop its foreign trade relations with the West. With regard to Austria, Atanasov sees "opportunities that are not being taken," for example, the establishment of joint ventures. At present, negotiations on "several projects" are going on with Austrian firms. An electrical company wants to establish a trading post in the new bonded area of the Danube harbor of Ruse. Atanasov is convinced that the pending agreement on the mutual promotion and protection of investments "will be ready for signing by the end of the year." Such an agreement is regarded as a basic prerequisite for extending economic cooperation.

With regard to foreign policy, Bulgaria concentrates on the Balkans. Balkan policy received a major impetus from the Belgrade foreign ministers conference of the six Balkan states in February. According to Atanasov, Bulgaria has already reaped the fruits. Relations with Albania were raised to embassy level. An "upward tendency" can also be ascertained with regard to Yugoslavia. The relationship with neighboring Greece, with which Bulgaria is connected by a pact of friendship and assistance, is exemplary. The dialogue with Turkey on normalizing relations, which were impaired by differences of opinion on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, is cautiously assessed by Atanasov in a "positive" way.

But, above all, he pays tribute to Bulgarian-Romanian relations, which have deepened since February. The problems of environmental protection in the Ruse area are to be solved on the basis of the "traditional friendly relations with Romania." In summer there were sharp protests by the citizens of Ruse against the pollution of the air and waters by a Romanian nitrogen plant. Atanasov's comment on this: "We cannot watch such actions which reveal emotions against a nation with which we entertain friendly relations, with indifference."

Atanasov Continues Vienna Visit Activities

AU1609173588 Sofia BTA in English 1602 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna, September 16 (BTA's special correspondent)—The second day of the visit Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is paying to Austria passed in business talks. This morning he visited the firm "Simmering AG" which has specialized in the production of railway transport vehicles, thermal power equipment, purifiers and other environment-protecting equipment, general and specialized machine-building and heavy industrial robots.

Bulgaria has maintained business contacts with the above firm for many years now. In the 60's "Simmering" delivered diesel engines to Bulgaria. Now negotiations for the supply of a 20-megawatt thermal power station for the needs of the chemical combined works in Devnya are underway. During the discussion at "Simmering" the parties established, that other similar deliveries are also possible. Later on Mr. Georgi Atanasov visited the Austrian Federal Assembly, where he had a meeting with Mr. Leopold Gratz, president of the National Council. The Bulgarian guest was informed about the work of the supreme legislative body, law-making and the control functions of the government.

At the meeting great importance was attached to interparliamentary contacts and it was pointed out that they will promote the understanding between the two countries.

The Bulgarian leader of state [title as received] was also received by Federal President Kurt Waldheim in the "Hofburg" Palace. Mr. Georgi Atanasov conveyed greetings and best wishes on behalf of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

In the course of their discussion the two state leaders highly appreciated the bilateral politic, economic and cultural relations. They also exchanged views on the further advancement of the relations between the two countries and on some current international problems. President Waldheim gave a dinner in honour of Mr. Georgi Atanasov.

Visits Economic Chamber

AU1709132588 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna, September 16 (BTA)—Today in the afternoon Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the official representatives accompanying him visited the Federal Economic Chamber in Vienna.

Speaking to managers of leading Austrian companies and banks Mr. Georgi Atanasov outlined the main directions of the radical economic reform which is being implemented in Bulgaria. He dwelt in detail on the possibilities opened for joint investments in Bulgaria after the adoption of the new normative acts and mentioned the creation of free trade zones in the towns of Ruse and Vidin. He said that in the now-created more liberal conditions for international economic exchange, Bulgaria is much interested in expanding its economic collaboration with Austria.

New forms of industrial cooperation will also be explored along with the possibilities of joint entering third-countries' markets and establishing consortiums

which would include banks, engineering and industrial organizations of the two countries. A good example of such collaboration is the consortium set up in 1987 with the Austrian firm "Voith" in the field of the cellulose and paper industry. The results from the activity of the two other joint ventures with "Festo" (making hydraulic and pneumatic equipment) and with "IGM" (producing welding industrial robots) are good.

This evening Mr. Georgi Atanasov, accompanied by Mr. Fran Vranitzky, federal chancellor, attended a performance at the Opera of Vienna.

Meets Austrian CP Leader Muhri

AU1709165088 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna, September 17 (BTA's special corresp.)—During his visit to Austria Mr. Georgi Atanasov, member of Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, had a meeting with Mr. Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party. During the discussion information about the questions which the parties are to solve now was exchanged. The positive development of the relations between Austria and Bulgaria was highly appreciated. Some current problems related to the international situation were also treated.

Ends Visit, Departs

AU1709172488 Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna, September 17 (Veselin Toshkov, BTA's special corresp.)—The official visit of Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Austria ended today. He was there at the invitation of Mr. Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor.

The most important conclusion which can be made from the three-day Bulgaro-Austrian dialogue is that the relations between the two countries will continue to be increasingly promoted. The preconditions conductive to their optimal development originate from the fact that they are being built in an atmosphere of positive trends in the political climate in the world. In Vienna both parties shared the opinion that they have not exhausted all possibilities for further advancement of their contacts in various spheres. On the contrary, new prospects can be opened, enriched with new forms and infused with new content on a mutually advantageous basis. This holds good especially for the economic cooperation. The two sides confirmed that the present talks in the Austrian capital will provide a good basis for activating the economic relations, which in the future will be determined not only by the classical forms of trade, but will increasingly involve industrial cooperative forms, joint ventures and investments, as well as the realization of joint projects in Austria and Bulgaria and in third countries.

The lines along which the future economic collaboration between Bulgaria and Austria will be advanced and which Mr. Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr. Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor, outlined during their discussions, will provide a good basis for taking concrete steps in order to raise the cooperation between the two countries to a qualitatively new level. In Vienna the Bulgaro-Austrian relations were given a new significant impulse to develop to the benefit of the two peoples. Within the overall context of the positive changes in the international situation, the promotion of these relations is sure to contribute to the strengthening of the climate of confidence and cooperation in Europe.

On leaving from Vienna airport Schwechat Mr. Georgi Atanasov and his wife were seen off by Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and his wife.

Arrives in Sofia

AU1709190888 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned from his visit to Austria tonight.

At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Comrade Grigor Stoichkov and other Bulgarian officials.

BCP Announces Competition for Journal Editor

AU1709160688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 88 p 6

["Announcement"]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee announces a competition for the election of the editor in chief of a new biweekly journal dealing with political, ideological, and cultural issues.

The competition will be based on a paper to be submitted by the candidate in which he is expected to express his own concept on the subjects, structure, and outlay of the future journal.

Those who wish to obtain further information on the conditions of the competition are requested to contact the technical assistant of the Commission on Intellectual and Ideological Questions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee Secretariat by calling 84-01, extension 33-75.

The deadline for submitting applications in writing is 15 October 1988.

Leaders' Public Appearances Reported 8-16 Sep

AU1709165288 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 10-16 September monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended the 8 September Sofia public meeting, marking the 44th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Sep 88 p 1) Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, received on 12 September Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 12 Sep 88)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned on 11 September from the DPRK. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 Sep 88) On 13 September Atanasov received an economic delegation from Zaire. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 88) On 14 September Atanasov visited the site of a railroad accident at the Ilientsi Railroad Station. (Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 14 Sep 88) On 15 September in Sofia Atanasov received Poland's minister of foreign economic cooperation, Wladyslaw Gwiazda. (Sofia BTA in English 0946 GMT 15 Sep 88) Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 16 September attended a cocktail party at the Ethiopian Embassy in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 16 Sep 88) Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on 16 September accompanied CPSU's Lev Zaykov in his visit to Varna. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 88)

Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 12 September greeted at Sofia Airport CPSU's Lev Zaykov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 88) On 13 September Filipov accompanied Zaykov during his meeting with the BCP Sofia City Committee and his visit to a Sofia industrial plant. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 88) On 14 September Grisha Filipov accompanied Lev Zaykov on his visits to Sofia's Central Institute on Computer Technology and to the city of Pazardzhik. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 88) On the same day Filipov attended the ceremony of signing an agreement on cooperation between Sofia and Moscow party, state, youth, and public organizations. (Sofia BTA in English 1333 GMT 14 Sep 88) On 16 September Grisha Filipov accompanied Lev Zaykov on his visit to Varna. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 88)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, on 12 September received a delegation of the CSSR National Front. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Sep 88 p 2)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received on an unspecified date Nguyen Di Nien, SRV deputy minister of foreign affairs. (Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 12 Sep 88)

Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 13 September received the delegation of the China Association for Promoting Democracy. (Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 13 Sep 88) On 13 September Yotov also received Chea Sim, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 13 Sep 88) On 13 September Yotov received the delegation of the CSSR National Front led by Tomas Travnicek. (Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Sep 88 p 1) On 15 September Yordan Yotov attended the opening of the Slavonic Studies Congress in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Sep 88)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, on 14 September attended a reception given by the Indonesian ambassador in Sofia on his country's national holiday. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 Sep 88) On 15 September in Sofia Lukanov attended the meeting between Georgi Atanasov and Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Poland's minister of foreign economic cooperation. (Sofia BTA in English 0946 GMT 15 Sep 88)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 14 September attended a ceremony at Radenko Vidinski Ceramics Plant in Dragovishtitsa Village, and gave awards to outstanding workers. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 88 p 6)

Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the Politburo and minister of internal affairs, visited the site of a railroad accident at the Ilientsi Railroad Station. (Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 14 Sep 88) On 16 September in Strazhitsa, Stoyanov attended a meeting on housing construction activities in the Strazhitsa area. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Sep 88)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, on 12 September greeted CPSU's Lev Zaykov at Sofia Airport. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900

GMT 12 Sep 88) On 14 September Stanishev attended a ceremony at the Radenko Vidinski Ceramics Plant in Dragovishtitsa Village, at which outstanding workers were awarded. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 88 p 6)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, on 12 September visited the GDR Embassy in Sofia and conveyed condolences on the death of SED Politburo Member Werner Felfe. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 88 p 6)

Explosives Damage Party Buildings in Pelhrimov

AU1609104988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Explosion in Pelhrimov"]

[Text] Pelhrimov— Explosives blew up on Prazska Street in Pelhrimov early Tuesday [13 September] morning. The explosion damaged parts of the city communication links. The glass paneling and the windows of surrounding buildings, including a kindergarten and the premises of district party and state agencies and of National Front organizations, were shattered by the ensuing shock wave. No one was injured. Work on eliminating the damage started immediately. The causes and circumstances of the case are being investigated by agencies of the National Security Corps.

USSR's Biryukova Arrives for Visit

LD1809162688 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 18 (CTK)—Aleksandra Biryukova, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, arrived here today on a working visit.

During her stay, she will study Czechoslovak experiences in party work in the conditions of the reconstruction process and the implementation of the party policy in the social sphere.

Activities of General Secretary Jakes Noted

Visits Gottwaldov 12 Sep

LD1309104188 Prague CTK in English 1836 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Gottwaldov, South Moravia, Sept 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes visited the South Moravian district of Gottwaldov today.

He began his tour at the Svit enterprise, the largest Czechoslovak footwear manufacturer which will produce 36 million pairs of shoes this year. Over 51 per cent of its production will be exported to 80 countries, mainly the Soviet Union, Britain, Canada, West Germany and Belgium.

At the precision engineering works in Gottwaldov, Milos Jakes met party, trade union and youth organization officials as well as leading managers and executives for discussion on the present tasks of the enterprise and its party organization.

He emphasized the irreplaceable role of engineering in scientific-technological development and stressed the importance of the participation of engineering enterprises in the international division of labour, primarily within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. He described production of equipment for the modernization of the Czechoslovak consumer industry as a major task of engineering.

Speaking about restructuring of the economic mechanism, Milos Jakes said that it is aimed at creating greater pressure by economic tools for better management and for material incentives to teams and individuals to depend on the results and quality of production and work. An end must be put to egalitarianism.

All effort by engineering as well as other workers must be aimed at constant innovation of products and at increasing their export capability, Milos Jakes said.

In the afternoon, the Communist Party general secretary visited the cooperative farm "Mir" (peace) at Brezuvky, a leading economic enterprise in the district with an area of 2,800 hectares of farm land. He met Communist Party officials and members of the cooperative chairmanship, and local National Front and National Committee representatives.

The application of new economic tools exerts pressure also in agriculture to improve the effectiveness of management and seek the resources of further development in the combination of agricultural and non-agricultural production. The agriculture and food complex, too, must serve the development of society, Milos Jakes stressed.

In conclusion, the general secretary met party and state representatives of the district for a discussion.

Tours Brno Engineering Fair

LD1309233188 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Brno Sept 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes visited the international engineering fair, which opened in the South Moravian capital, Brno, today.

He began his tour of the exhibition grounds by talking to representatives of Bulgarian, GDR and Hungarian participants. In the display of Soviet engineering, the largest partners of Czechoslovak enterprises, the Czechoslovak party and state representatives saw for instance deep grinding machines.

Milos Jakes and other Czechoslovak officials also saw the official exposition of 50 French exhibitors who praised cooperation with Czechoslovakia particularly in work on projects in Egypt.

They went to the stall of Spain, which has its official exhibition at the Brno fair for the first time ever, and visited the displays of Austria, Japan, Switzerland, the Netherlands, West Germany and its Land of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Denmark and Australia.

In the end, Milos Jakes, Premier Lubomir Strougal and other guests were acquainted with the presentations of motor vehicle manufacturers from Czechoslovakia, Japan, the GDR, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Visits Races at Slusovice

AU1509073388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 88 p 8

[CTK report: "Farewell at Slusovice"]

[Text] Slusovice—The main event at the closing races of the season at the Slusovice course on Saturday [10 September]—the the Daily ROVNOST [Brno party daily] Prize, a 3,800-meter steeplechase—was won by Cahir of the Vlachovice united agricultural cooperative, ridden by jockey Jan Havlicek. The afternoon races were watched by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Attends RUDE PRAVO Festival

LD1809211688 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 18 (CTK)—A two-day festival of the Czech daily RUDE PRAVO culminated in Prague today with many citizens and visitors of Prague taking part.

Present at the festival today were also Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and RUDE PRAVO editor-in-chief Zdenek Horeni. Addressing the rally, Zdenek Horeni stressed the significance of public information and said that the experience of the Soviet Union, the practical example of tested experiences and social changes in the Soviet Union are a significant inspiration for Czechoslovakia.

Zdenek Horeni also spoke of the international situation which has improved considerably thanks to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and in this connection recalled the Czechoslovak initiative for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

A total of 145 cultural and other events were organized during the two-day festival for thousands of visitors, including expositions of the individual papers and other mass information media.

Many people came to see for instance an exposition of the Czechoslovak news agency which will celebrate this year its 70th anniversary.

Celebrations of the day of the press, radio and television were held also in Bratislava.

Energy Minister Views Uranium Industry Results

AU1409103188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[Pavel Paral report: "Saving Costs and Sparing Nature"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The nationwide celebration of Miners' and Power Industry Workers' Day culminated in a festive session of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Mining and Power Industry Workers in Prague on Saturday [10 September]. [passage omitted] The session was attended by a party and government delegation led by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of fuels and power, in his speech assessed the results of the last mining year. He said that employees of the sector managed to meet demands for fuels and power, although these increased as a result of the nonfulfillment of targets in reducing energy-intensiveness. In the first 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, they supplied over 1,860 gigawatt hours of electricity and approximately 0.75 billion cubic meters of heating gas above the plan. Planned coal extraction was exceeded by 6.5 million tonnes. Coal extraction declined by an annual average of only 0.3 percent, which does not correspond to the set targets. [passage omitted]

Last year was also successful for the employees of the gas and oil industry. Although the production of city gas declined 4 percent, this accorded with the planned intention to increase the use of natural gas. [passage omitted] More than 74,000 users were converted from city gas to natural gas.

Employees of the uranium industry, too, came to terms with their tasks. Appreciation must be expressed, above all, for the regular fulfillment of the planned uranium production and export. In view of the fact that the extraction volumes will decline in the future and, in connection with this, there will also be a reduction in the volume of geological work and capital investment, it will be necessary to concentrate on methods of uranium ore extraction and processing which will yield the required economic effect. Aside from this, nonmining activity [in the uranium industry] will also develop, particularly the production of machinery and electronics. [passage omitted]

The attained results in the sector of fuels and power cannot, however, conceal some of the problems with which individual branches must grapple. This concerns, in particular, total and material costs. In open-pit mining, for example, the cost of removing one cubic meter of overburden increased by Kcs1.2 between 1986 and 1987, and the first half of this year saw an increase by another Kcs0.27. Given the annual volume of over 250 million cubic meters of removed overburden, it is evident how important it is to halt this adverse development. [passage omitted]

Hanus Addresses Miners' Meeting on Plan Results

AU1409121288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 88 p 2

["From the Speech by Comrade F. Hanus," secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a festive meeting of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Mining and Power Industry Workers held in Prague on 10 September to mark Miners' and Power Industry Workers' Day]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The results of the Eighth 5-Year Plan show that, next to undeniably positive achievements, shortcomings still linger on. We are not succeeding in fully implementing the set targets of the 17th CPCZ Congress, yet it is necessary to see that life and movement in society have not come to a standstill. Quite the contrary. We must fully appreciate what has been done in society and where progress has been made. The tasks we are tackling are exceedingly serious; their fulfillment requires that the whole party and society be set in motion.

The development thus far shows acceleration compared with the preceding 5-year period, but it is accompanied by many long-standing problems and shortcomings. In defiance of a number of measures that have been adopted to improve the state and the development of the economy, the dynamism of economic growth is lower than projected. The social productivity of labor is not increasing at the required pace, and the material-intensiveness and energy-intensiveness of production continues to be high. Inventory management is fraught with a number of shortcomings. The efficiency of our exports is declining. All this leads to tension in the economy and disrupts economic balance in the national economy. Shortcomings in supplier-user relations and in the domestic market are deepening as a result. Consequently, the strategy of acceleration is not being implemented to the extent and in the quality called for by the times.

The further course of action was determined at the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. The adopted conclusions are being gradually implemented. We all bear witness to the implementation of specific and realistic steps aimed at an efficient functioning of our society and at the development of socialist democracy. Restructuring is a long-term process, the success of which practically depends on people, on their approaches, on honest, intensive, and top-quality work. It is according to work results and specific deeds that our children and the coming generations will evaluate us.

We are still only at the beginning of restructuring. Let us therefore not expect of it any immediate revolutionary changes. It is also necessary to see that not everyone fully identifies with restructuring. There are also forces for whom new things are not overly convenient; these persons either impede restructuring or try to misuse it. Restructuring is the only realistic path of raising the life of our society to a higher level. The speed at which the world moves has accelerated to an unprecedented extent, and socialism, too, has no alternative but to move ahead faster.

The decisions adopted at Central Committee sessions are being translated into reality step by step. A number of measures have been adopted to raise the efficiency of production, the enterprise law has been passed, and the first state enterprises have been set up. It is particularly in the new state enterprises that one can observe a considerable invigoration of social and labor activity; interest in the results of one's own work is growing. It will be necessary, however, to resist from the start incorrect tendencies that are making themselves felt at some places where they would like to produce only what is advantageous for them. I would like to stress that the main mission of enterprises is to effectively and economically meet the needs of society through their entrepreneurial activity. The law on state enterprises must be fulfilled in its entirety. [passage omitted]

We are doing everything we can to radically change the situation in the entire national economy and to minimize deviations from the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. In the forefront of these efforts are, above all, party organizations, which give their support to people's initiative-filled work. Greater use of this initiative must be made to counter the "scheming" over the plan on the part of management staffs which is making itself felt at some places.

Development in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan continued to be marked by a number of extensive factors. It therefore placed higher demands on the consumption of fuels and power than were projected in the congress documents. This also led to an inconsistent implementation of congress targets in many areas of the fuel and power sector. This was caused by the failure to carry out corresponding structural changes in the national economy, to apply more fully scientific and technical development, and, not least, to raise cooperation in the international division of labor to a higher level. [passage omitted]

The sector as a whole has met and exceeded its tasks in the first half of the 5-year plan. It fully succeeded in ensuring the needs of the national economy and of the population. At the same time it is necessary to see that this took place at a cost of a number of extraordinary measures, much overtime, and growing costs, especially in the extraction of solid fuels. It is necessary to consistently meet the congress targets in this regard, to enforce cost-consciousness in a planned fashion, and to resolutely reject antiquated views to the effect that the main thing is to get the coal out at any cost, views that still crop up at some places.

It is necessary to suppose that, in spite of the planned reduction of coal mining in the years to come, solid fuels will continue to be a basic factor from the viewpoint of covering the overall needs of the balance between the supply and demand for fuels and power as well as an irreplaceable contingency reserve in the event of ups and downs in the consumption of resources in individual years. That is why the preparedness of coal basins for extraction must not be neglected in any way. The fact that we are discussing structural changes and limiting coal extraction does not mean that miners' work is losing its prospects. Our society guarantees the social security of all working people, and all the more so the social security of miners, whose work it immensely values. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Comrade Hanus expressed the conviction that miners and power industry workers would continue to be the Communist Party's firm mainstay in implementing the conclusions of its 17th congress and that they would contribute their great share to the prosperity of our socialist society as Czechoslovakia approaches the celebration of the 70th anniversary of its founding.

Editorial Notes Need for 'Pluralism of Views'

AU1309094188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Pluralism of Views"]

[Excerpts] We live in a complex period. Who of us only a few years ago would have used the term pluralism as one of the objectives that we should strive for? We were familiar with the term bourgeois political pluralism. [passage omitted] And we were familiar with pluralism as an idealistic philosophical current. Both types of pluralism, however, are unfit for use in a socialist society.

And, still, we must seriously consider pluralism today, albeit a pluralism of a fundamentally different sort—the s o c i a l i s t —pluralism of views.

What is it, in fact, and what do we need it for?

The term itself, and its use in the life of society, has come with restructuring in the Soviet Union. Assessing the period of stagnation and other periods of building socialism, the CPSU arrived at the conclusion that much harm had been done because of individuals who were consolidating their monopoly on power and on ideas and who had the last word, regardless of the working people and of views prevailing in the party. An atmosphere of uniformity and standardized opinions was spreading due to their faults. [passage omitted]

In our country, too, the "unanimity" which found its expression in a forest of raised hands did not, with regard to some decisions, always mean actual unanimity. Authoritarian-administrative methods, however, often demanded such attitudes from communists, trade unionists, or youth union members. Consequently, resolutions were being passed that had not gone through the necessary process of discussion and polemics and that had not been considered from all sides.

Apparently, this is also the root cause of difficulties with the implementation of resolutions. In the Soviet Union today, the pluralism of views is used in various spheres of life, but particularly in the party. Evidence of this is furnished by sessions of the CPSU Central Committee, and also by the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. [passage omitted] There were more than 100, and even as many as 200, opposing votes on serious decisions.

Does this perhaps spell the end of the party's ideological, organizational, and action unity, or at least a serious threat to this unity? This question may well arise, and it undoubtedly does arise. However, the authentic deepening of internal party democracy requires the socialist pluralism of views. Every idea needs an idea that challenges it. Without such an approach, a social organism is threatened with stagnation. Development is arrested if only some authoritarian individuals have a monopoly on truth, if people are unable to conduct a discussion, if everyone views an opponent as his personal enemy or an enemy of socialism.

We believe these are important questions that must now be discussed as we are getting ready for a session of the CPCZ Central Committee concerning ideological work. The fact is that many problems of Soviet Communists are our problems as well, and that we must tackle them in a comradely way, side by side, by exchanging experiences and approaches.

Why does every idea require an idea that challenges it? It requires it so that the stronger idea can grow even stronger and become steeled, for it is only in the process of polemics that man, ideas, and persuasion grow stronger. If, for example, the committee of a primary party organization, or its chairman, comes up with an idea or an opinion which they expect to be approved without any discussion, the great risk of subjectivism arises. In the absence of a challenging counteropinion, the threat of subjectivism exists everywhere.

Several of our party organizations have felt this need, even in the absence of instructions or guidelines from above. Committee sessions as well as members' meetings are becoming increasingly demanding. The submitted material must "pass the test" of criticism, its postulates are questioned, and, before it is approved, its authors must either perfectly plead for their cause or they must revise it so that it suits other communists. Communists who are able to present counterproposals and who come up with counteropinions are not people who are out to

upset the party's unity. Providing that they act constructively and have the solution of the issue, of the problem, at heart, they raise the activity of the committee or of the organization to a higher level. [passage omitted]

We must also learn to be fair and to respect the view of others and our opponent. Respect for other views should be the natural state of public opinion.

True, not everything will go smoothly. Authoritarianism is still deeply ingrained in its protagonists and in the public. Barriers also exist. How is one to contradict, for example, the chairman of a united agricultural cooperative who does not recognize any other view but his own? How is one to contradict the chairman of a primary party organization who is allergic to criticism and who cannot reason with a person, but only "takes revenge?" And what shall one do with a school director of whom the teachers' collective is scared?

All these are consequences of the authoritarian-bureaucratic style of management which we must shed in the period of restructuring. [passage omitted]

The moral atmosphere of society needs to be changed. This is one of our crucial tasks in the ideological sphere. How? This will be the subject of discussions at the forthcoming sessions of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committees. The forms must be explored, while the objectives are known—to galvanize and mobilize the public for implementing the ideas of the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The creation of resolutions will be the first test of our ability to implement a pluralism of views. While in the past only new thoughts, and frequently platitudes, used to be added to the draft version of resolutions, or other ideas used to be crossed out, more profound work must be involved today. Alternative proposals are optimal. The problem must be assessed not in order to come up with a resolution, but to resolve the problem. When the draft of a resolution is assessed by a party committee or a members' meeting, one need not fear if someone expresses an opposing view, one that completely differs from the proposed resolution. [passage omitted]

Opposing views countering the unhealthy authoritarian-bureaucratic style of work must be utilized at all levels of the party structure. The party press should make no exceptions in this regard. Speaking on the discussion at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, A. Afanasyev, chief editor of Soviet PRAVDA, said: "There is no political opposition in our country and, for known reasons, there cannot be any, mainly because there exists neither a social nor a class base for it. We have the press, however, and I dare assure you that the press will act as the socialist opposition." [passage omitted]

Indeed, the press can do a great deal to make the atmosphere of self-satisfaction and the conciliatory mood become extinct. It can do a great deal to ensure that individuals do not repeat their mistakes, are under public control, and that they, as well as others, learn from their mistakes.

However, the press cannot be some sort of an isolated internal socialist opposition. Such opposition must take shape in every party agency and organization. Healthy "arguments" about the optimal paths ahead, about lesser or major decisions, are essential for the successful advancement of the party and the entire society. Finally, the pluralism of views cannot remain just an internal party matter but must rather, through the expansion of socialist democracy, extend to other spheres of society as well.

The fears that the party's unity might be disrupted are probably unnecessary. More than by an open exchange of views, the party's unity is threatened by the self-satisfaction and self-deception of those individuals who have decided to slow down the process of restructuring and to believe in the return of the old times when neither public opinion nor public control, let alone socialist pluralism of views, limited their subjectivism. The party's unity cannot be reinforced by a "heavy hand," but only by approaches in which the majority of Communists and the majority of the working people will have faith. That is why exploring optimal roads of developing socialist democracy is the most important task of the party's ideological work.

We should achieve such a moral state of society that, prior to every planned session of the party's central bodies, the greatest possible number of communists and other working people should contribute their views, attitudes, and suggestions to the preparatory discussion. This would also be an important step toward implementing the socialist pluralism of views.

Honecker Addresses Military Graduates 14 Sep
AU1709131188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 88 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a reception for the 1988 graduates of military academies in Berlin on 14 September: "Supreme Principle: Protecting Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister, dear comrades:

We have come together at this traditional place on the occasion of the reception for the graduates of military academies for the year 1988. You, dear comrades, officers of the GDR, the USSR, and CSSR, have prepared yourselves well for your future tasks during several years of studies. I would like to cordially congratulate you on the successful completion of your studies.

On the basis of solid achievements provided by our highest military training institutions and your own hard and creative work, you have become highly qualified officers who can meet the peace-political responsibility and the tasks assigned to our Armed Forces, the Border Troops, and the other defense and security organs.

For this, I would like to convey to you my personal thanks, as well as thanks and respect from the comrades of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy and the other military academies of the GDR, the military academies of the USSR Armed Forces, the PPR and CSSR Armies.

INF Treaty Increases the Peoples' Hopes [subhead]

Comrade graduates:

You have assumed your new posts at a time that is significant for peace and the fate of mankind. Remarkable positive political developments have taken place in the world. A change for the better is emerging in international relations. The immediate danger of a military conflict between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has been further reduced.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of land-based intermediate-range missiles strengthens the people's hope for a world without nuclear weapons. It proves that with a sense of reality and good will, tangible results can be achieved on the path of arms limitation and disarmament.

The constructive proposals of the Warsaw Pact states of July this year show again the unremitting efforts to advance in consolidating peace and security and not to allow any standstill. However, the emerging possibilities of halving the strategic offensive weapons potential while adhering to the ABM Treaty, of a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear tests, of eliminating tactical nuclear weapons, of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe constantly require new and even more persistent efforts by all forces of peace.

It is necessary to overcome the resistance of those forces of NATO that adhere to the strategy of nuclear deterrence, that do not want to abandon nuclear weapons, and that continually hatch new armament plans and modernization variations in order to prevent disarmament success. Although the recognition is growing that a war between the two military coalitions would be politically and militarily senseless, even, to the highest degree, a threat to the existence of both sides, influential circles of imperialism, as the recent NATO meetings have shown, are continuing the arms race.

In maneuvers, which exceed all previous ones in their extent and the number of participants, NATO armed forces units are practicing in Europe, primarily along the border between the two pact systems, the strategy of "flexible response" and of "forward defense," the use of nuclear weapons, that is to say, aggression against the socialist community of states. From this, and from this alone, derives the need to ensure the defense readiness of the united armed forces of our alliance at the necessary level. In the interests of its citizens, of the securing of its socialist achievements, and of peace, the GDR will continue to reliably fulfill its alliance duties in this.

Our country contributes as much as it is able to in order to achieve a further reduction in the danger of war through new and real disarmament steps and business-like relations that serve peace between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states.

In view of the exposed position of the two German states, the peoples rightly expect from them further initiatives aimed at securing peace.

On the occasion of my visit to the FRG a year ago, I agreed with Chancellor Kohl in affirming that the GDR and FRG, in view of the responsibility of the two states, must undertake particular efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe. War must never again start from German soil, but only peace. We have both declared our wish to work within the framework of our respective alliances for a policy of reducing tensions and securing peace, for the continuation of dialogue, and for long-term cooperation.

Firmly aware of its responsibility at the sensitive line of contact between the two strongest military alliances of our time, the GDR has acted with great consistency in accordance with this agreement. It is doing all it can to help shape a peaceful European home in which socialist and capitalist neighbors can live securely according to house rules which are binding on all, and so that they can arrange their future in free self-determination and without outside interference.

In this spirit, the Berlin international meeting on nuclear-free zones was an event of far-reaching significance, a convincing expression of the new thinking in the nuclear age, the need for which Albert Einstein had already stressed after the development of the first atom bomb. This meeting has proven again that today the most varied forces of reason on all continents are raising their voices even more vigorously for the safeguarding of peace and the averting of a nuclear inferno.

Liberation of the World From Nuclear Weapons Continues To Be Complicated [subhead]

But the road to the liberation of mankind from nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction remains complicated and full of obstacles. In order to proceed along it successfully, there is greater need than ever before in the future for the persistent struggle by all who seriously want peace and who are prepared to do something for it.

In this spirit, the GDR will continue to steadfastly undertake further efforts and expects the same from the FRG. We have attentively followed all reactions to the proposals so far offered by the socialist states, and we believe that no more time should be lost in creating trust through meetings and constructive negotiations and by introducing further disarmament steps.

Meetings between defense ministers and military experts of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, including the GDR and FRG, can also assist this.

The strange claim that such steps are only possible after the existence of an overall NATO concept on disarmament, perhaps later, but on no account right now, should at last be abandoned.

NATO Should Not Think About Disarmament at Snail's Pace [subhead]

The peoples rightly expect a more rapid pace from NATO leaders on disarmament questions. It is more than desirable for the consideration in these circles of such categories as freedom from nuclear weapons and a nonaggression capability to no longer proceed at a snail's pace.

In its security policy, the SED will continue to be guided consistently by the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. The statement on the military doctrine adopted by the highest representatives of the allied socialist countries in Berlin in May 1987 contained the goal and direction of the alliance's coordinated military policy and strategy, including the measures for the military protection of the GDR.

To securely protect peace and socialism and not to allow any war, either with nuclear or with conventional weapons, is and continues to be the supreme principle. Our military efforts are directed exclusively toward defense, whose staunchness robs any attack on the GDR and on the states of the socialist community of the prospect of success. This is the peace-preserving mission of the socialist armed forces, and this is the humanist purpose of being a soldier in socialism. We see the road to more security not in the enlargement of armed forces and not in the development of ever newer and more perfect forms of means of destruction, but rather in the reduction of armed forces and armaments up to a nonaggression capability of both sides as an element of a stable international system of joint security.

The 1918 November Revolution and the End of World War I [subhead]

Dear comrades, the 70th anniversary of the German November Revolution and of the founding of the KPD are imminent. To comprehend with the mind and with the heart the historic dimension of these events and the path of our militant alliance through the birth of a new, a socialist Germany to the present day, strengthens the conviction of the might and the invincibility of our Marxist-Leninist party and of its ability to prove itself in the most difficult situations and in sudden changes in the class struggle and to safely lead the workers class and all working people along the revolutionary road.

As a result of the 1918 November Revolution, which did not fulfill all the dreams of the people, not only did the crowns of the German royal houses crumble into dust, but the most important task of that time was fulfilled, namely that of ending World War I, and we must not for one moment forget that. The ending of this terrible war was at the same time the greatest aid for the defense of the October Revolution in revolutionary Russia, in which the Soviets, led by the party of the Bolsheviks, assumed all power in 1917 and opened a new era in world history. Under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia," a powerful movement subsequently developed which made a decisive contribution toward ensuring that the banner of the October Revolution could be boldly unfurled.

However, as we all know, the kaiser went and the generals remained. They prepared the way for World War II and could not be stopped in this venture because of the absence of the unity of the workers class. However, there must not be a third world war, comrades. As events show, thanks to the enormous changes as a result of World War II and of postwar development, mankind certainly has at its disposal the strength to avert the catastrophe of a war of this type.

The Implementation of Our Strategy Requires Daily Hard Struggle [subhead]

For 4 decades we have been writing the history of the socialist German Republic, which Karl Liebknecht had in mind when he spoke to the revolutionary workers and soldiers from that portal of the Berlin Palace which today adorns this building. We have been steadfastly and

stage by stage implementing the SED's social strategy with its core, the unity of economic and social policy, for more than 1 and ½ decades. This is no easy matter, but a daily, hard struggle for the mastery of scientific-technological progress, for the shaping of all spheres of life, and the safeguarding of socialism and peace.

We will make further good progress if we integrate all GDR citizens into our work in an even more active and varied way, explain each new task and each emerging problem sensitively and patiently, and if we—together with all citizens and the members of the armed forces—find the best corresponding solutions and put them into practice.

We have also made good progress in the economic and social development of the GDR this year. Economic growth borne by high labor productivity has made it possible to guarantee full employment and to further develop the living conditions of the people. The fact, for example, that since the start of 1988 another 140,970 newly built or modernized apartments have been handed over at a rental which amounts to only a very small percentage of the net income of the working people means that we can be proud of this together with our construction workers. Since the Eighth Congress, living conditions have significantly improved for well over half the citizens.

Love for One's Homeland and Internationalist Conviction [subhead]

What would be more natural than to demonstrate the establishment and growth of our state, the ideals, goals, and achievements of the socialist system to all citizens, and in particular to the youth, by referring to the actual results reached by the people for the people? In this way we deepen the love to our homeland, consolidate the internationalist conviction, and arouse motives and readiness for action for the further overall strengthening of the GDR and its reliable protection. How wonderful our young people are was again proved by the enthusiasm with which our young and Thaelmann pioneers expressed their dedication to peace and socialism at the meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

A Challenge to the Creative Work of Our Military Cadres [subhead]

Dear comrades, by concluding your studies and starting your work in responsible functions, you have entered a new, important stage of your lives. The coming year poses great tasks to the officer corps and to all cadres of the armed forces, the border troops, and the other GDR protective and security organs.

They are a challenge to the scientific thinking and the creative work of our military cadres. As in the whole of society, the issue in the armed forces and in the protective and security organs is to make progress with the aim of creating new things, retain what is tried and tested, overcome hindrances and act in an even more efficient and timely manner.

Dear comrades, for you, too, the yardstick of all efforts remains to guarantee a combat strength, a combat and mobilization readiness on the part of all units, troop divisions, formations, and institutions which make an effective contribution to the preservation of the military-strategic balance, if possible always at an ever lower level, as striven for by us at all meetings and negotiations with the NATO states.

Our party and our people put high expectations in your work. A firm Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung, revolutionary passion, and political steadfastness, the conviction that socialism has a secure future in the peaceful competition of the systems, creative vigor, and technical competence in solving new tasks, pleasure in decision-making, readiness for taking risks, industriousness, and persistence are important qualities that will enable you to fulfill the tasks you are given.

The idea of the 11th SED Congress—which is deeply rooted in the life of the armed forces—that the GDR Armed Forces are active contributors to shaping the SED's policy, which is aimed at peace and at the welfare of the people, expresses the high demands placed on doing one's military duty, in particular on the revolutionary and humanist content of the officers' profession.

Participating in shaping our good policy as an officer requires, above all, an understanding of the enormous responsibility borne by the socialist armed forces for implementing the peace program of socialism and thus for the fate of our peoples and even of all of mankind.

Being one who participates in shaping this policy means to guarantee the necessary level of combat strength and combat readiness of all subordinates every day in the interest of militarily safeguarding peace, as the defense capability of the republic requires.

Being one who participates in shaping this policy means to participate in the comprehensive intensification in the military sphere—in particular to push ahead the application of the latest scientific results in the military and in the GDR's national defense and to be a good economist as well as a military man.

Being one who participates in shaping this policy requires every individual to consolidate our alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries and the comradeship-in-arms with the Warsaw Pact armies and to increase military cohesion and political vigilance through effective internationalist training and specific deeds.

Being an officer and an active participant in shaping our party's policy means, above all, to convincingly explain our peace mission and the meaning of being a soldier in socialism, to make the advantages and values of our

social system tangible, and to apply ever more effectively the creativity and initiative of the army members, border soldiers, civilian employees, and reservists in the interest of high combat readiness.

Work With the People Is the Guarantee of All Success [subhead]

Dear comrades, let yourselves always be guided by the premise that work with the people is the guarantee of all success. In a close relationship of trust, in an atmosphere of stable socialist relations, conscious discipline, and high culture of everyday military life, you will be able to train fighters who are willing to accomplish outstanding achievements in training and combat, to form firm military collectives in the socialist competition and in leisure time, and to guarantee the inviolability of the GDR and its socialist state and legal system in combat duty and in safeguarding the borders. Be constantly aware that fulfilling these tasks always includes—and not in the least important place—work to improve the service, working, and living conditions of the members of the National People's Army, the border troops, and all other GDR protective and security organs.

The success of your work will decisively depend on how close your ties with all other members and candidate members of your party collective are and how exemplary your participation in realizing the leading role of the party is. In particular during the weeks of the party elections, it is necessary to accomplish exemplary achievements in all fields of military life by means of high political activity. In addition, you should always feel the need to closely cooperate with the leaderships and members of the youth association, the trade union organizations, and the sports associations.

Skills and Readiness for Work To Fulfill the Class Assignment [subhead]

Comrade graduates, we are sure that—being aware of the great responsibility of the officers and all soldiers of the people—you will devote your skills and readiness for work to reliably fulfilling your class assignment and to solving all tasks assigned to the armed forces and to the other protective and security organs. On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, I wish you for this creative energy, success, good health, and personal happiness.

Let us raise our glasses and drink to

—our flourishing socialist fatherland, the GDR;

—the unshakable comradeship-in-class and arms with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army, and with all states and armies of the Warsaw Pact;

—new deeds to reliably safeguard peace and for a happy future of mankind;

—your health, dear comrades.

Mittag Addresses Berlin Antifascist Rally

AU1409124188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 88 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at a rally marking the international memorial day for the victims of fascist terrorism and imperialist war, held in Berlin on 11 September: "In the GDR Things Are Being Fulfilled for Which the Resistance Fighters Made Immeasurable Sacrifices"]

[Text] Dear Berliners, dear comrades from the antifascist resistance movement, dear friends and comrades:

On this September day in the year 1988, in Berlin's Bebel Square, we are commemorating the victims of fascist terrorism. In the spirit of the legacy of millions of antifascist resistance fighters, we express our firm will: Never again fascism and imperialist war! (strong applause)

With today's rally we continue our tested tradition of paying tribute to the heroism, the courage, and the steadfastness of all people who defied the raging of the facist beast. They allowed themselves to be guided by the noble ideals of true humanity and freedom.

They were against the death of millions of people for the interests of a clique that was greedy for power and profit. They wanted peace!

They were against the bloody suppression of other peoples. They wanted friendship and understanding among the peoples!

They were against the suppression of their people by the brown hordes. They wanted rule by the people and a happy life for all people!

Actions in Harmony With the Laws of History [subhead]

They risked their lives to save mankind from facist dictatorship, to liberate the peoples from facist suppression, and to eliminate war and fascism once and for all.

They struggled against the worst monstrosity of imperialism. In order to implement its policy, which was characterized by greed for profit and the striving for world supremacy, Hitlerite fascism wanted to crush everything that stood in its way. Its boundless hatred was primarily directed against Communists. They were the force that was ruthlessly unmasked by its demagogy, but they put up an irreconcilable resistance by risking their lives. The terror of the Hitlerite fascism was directed against social democrats, trade unionists, and against all those who struggled steadfastly for the interests of the workers, for the entire working people, and who allowed themselves to be guided by the ideals of freedom and progress. The fascist boot did not spare humanistic-minded intellectuals and artists. It was directed against

all those who refused to give their allegiance to the fascist dictatorship and who resisted. Marxists and Christians, free-thinkers and Jews became the victims of an unparalleled internecine war that was waged by the fascists against the best forces of their own country and the peoples of other countries.

The antifascist resistance fighters acted in harmony with the laws of history. As a result of the sacrificial struggle of the Soviet Union and all forces of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and of the antifascist resistance movement, Hitlerite fascism was defeated.

This was a milestone in the history of mankind. If today we can look back over a period of peace that has lasted more than 40 years, the foundation stone for this was laid with the historic victory over fascism.

By fighting against fascism, the heroes of resistance against fascism also struggled for a happier future for our people. They were inspired by the idea, the belief, and the conviction that it is necessary and possible to exterminate fascism along with its social roots. They were certain that the night of fascism would be followed by the bright morning of socialism.

"... Today I can already see the dawn of a new era." Resistance fighter Franz Mett expressed this certainty of victory in his farewell letter. His fellow fighter Rudolf Seiffert wrote in January 1945: "... all of them—every single one of them—marched toward the scaffold in an upright and determined manner because they knew their sacrifice was not in vain. The new era is emerging." Katja Niederkirchner's deeply moving words still live: "... I very much would have liked to live in the new era. It is so difficult to have to leave shortly before it begins."

What they dreamed of and hoped for, but were unable to experience has become a reality. "The things that the Spartakus fighters risked their lives for 70 years ago, what the antifascist resistance fighters made immense sacrifices for during the night of Hitlerite fascism, are being fulfilled in our worker-peasant state." (strong applause)

These words by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, have expressed the historic truth.

The fight against Hitlerite fascism was also a revolutionary struggle. In this struggle, the historic mission of the workers class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, was fulfilled.

Pride in the 70-Year-Old Tradition [subhead]

This year we are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD. We are proud of the militant traditions of the revolutionary German workers class, which continue to be alive in the work and actions of the SED. (strong applause)

The antifascist resistance struggle indeed belongs to the most difficult, sacrificial, but also most glorious chapters of this history. We pledge to always honor the heroism of the antifascist resistance fighters. (strong applause)

Dear friends and comrades:

We honor the legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters by using all our power to further strengthen the GDR on its path of socialism. We are deeply convinced that this is the right way to serve the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

What we have achieved on this path is of historic importance. We can be proud of the results in the world. This applies to both fundamental social achievements and economic performance on which they are based.

The human right to work, social protection for the citizens, equal educational opportunities for all, comprehensive social care for the children, work veterans, and elderly citizens characterize life in our socialist society. Exploitation of man by man, unemployment, homelessness, and the destruction of people's social existence do not exist in our society, and this should continue to be so. (strong applause) An extensive housing program is being implemented, through which we solve the housing problem as a social issue by the year 1990.

Utilization of Modern Productive Forces for the Well-Being of the People [subhead]

If we are proud of what we have achieved, this also includes the insight that what we have achieved today must be improved tomorrow. High-level social results can only be obtained on the basis of increasing economic performances.

The results that have so far been achieved this year prove the following: Economic growth, characterized by high labor productivity, makes it possible for the GDR to advance in a comprehensive manner.

With the economic strategy adopted by the 11th SED Congress, we are facing up to the new challenges. We are firmly determined to utilize the new productive forces, to apply key technologies on a broad scale, and to tap new reserves on the path of socialist rationalization, because only in this way can we serve the well-being of the people. (strong applause)

We have adopted a creative approach toward further shaping our socialist society. New answers must be found where life poses new questions. We will find them, starting out from the firm positions of scientific socialism, the general laws of socialism, and by taking into consideration the specific conditions and traditions of the GDR.

All this is taking place on the basis of the SED program on the shaping of the developed socialist society. We have described this as an historic process which involves far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. To further proceed in this way poses a great challenge to the creative strength of the entire people.

We allow ourselves to be guided by the insight that socialism is the best thing that has ever been created by mankind. (strong applause) It is by far superior to the bourgeois social system. The worker-peasant power on German soil has achieved much more for the well-being of the people over the last 40 years than was achieved during the entire previous history. We are proud that the dreams and hopes of the revolutionary German workers class are being fulfilled. Work, bread, and peace in the world—this is the official state policy. (strong applause)

We are implementing the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy in the GDR. It is consistently directed toward the well-being of the people. It reflects the spirit of socialism.

Today it is becoming clearer than ever before that how secure peace is depends on the strength of socialism. Socialism provides the intellectual and material basis for the idea of peace and understanding among peoples. Therefore, let us do everything possible to lend even more efficiency and dynamism to the struggle aimed at safeguarding peace by further strengthening socialism.

It is no longer possible today to overlook the positive changes that have taken place as a result of the persistent and continuous peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states. The fact that it was possible to sign an accord between the Soviet Union and the United States, which, for the first time, stipulates that a whole class of nuclear weapons will be destroyed, constitutes an important event.

War Must Never Again Start From German Soil [subhead]

Above all, it is an encouraging sign for proceeding consistently on the path toward a nuclear-free world. We are convinced that, in spite of complicated problems and continuing deep differences, it is possible to replace confrontation by cooperation and to create a comprehensive system of international security. It is now necessary to take further steps toward reducing the military potential. With all our strength we support the new proposals that were submitted in this respect at the Warsaw Pact meeting in July this year.

It is time that the NATO states provide a positive answer to this. This would be in the interest of the peoples and in the interest of peace.

What is being done for peace is never sufficient. Ifs and buts are inadequate here. We stand by our word that war must never again start from German soil. Aware of our responsibility, we state this at this rally in front of the victims of World War II. (strong applause)

Not to waste time in further proceeding on the path of disarmament is the dictate of the moment. This is what the peoples expect.

Just how deeply the vision of a nuclear-free world is rooted in the people's minds was demonstrated by the Berlin international meeting on nuclear-free zones. It reflected the vitality and efficiency of the socialist countries' proposals for a peaceful world.

The fact that this most comprehensive world forum on peace issues that has so far been held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, was so successful, is symbolic indeed. It is an encouragement for us to continue and increase our struggle to safeguard peace.

The GDR is one of the states in this world which, with constructive commitment and by using all the potential of political dialogue, is in favor of taking efficient steps in the sphere of conventional disarmament and of strengthening confidence and cooperation among the peoples. Our positions shall continue to be characterized by this. In this way, we are also fulfilling the legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters today.

However, we do not overlook the fact that the opponents to any kind of disarmament are increasing their efforts. The deployment of 500,000 NATO soldiers during large-scale maneuvers in Western Europe and the practicing of aggressive acts does not serve the required building of confidence between the different alliances. The policy of strength does not provide an adequate concept to make peace more secure.

The peoples' conscience will never forget that the lie about the threat was the cover under which Hitlerite fascism prepared the attack on the Soviet Union.

It is becoming clear that today the peoples are less inclined to be deceived by such manipulations. Our peace policy is credible because it is sincere, because it is in line with the interests of the peoples.

The lessons from the antifascist resistance struggle admonish us to be vigilant. What was achieved in the struggle for peace had to be wrested from advocates of the arms buildup and die-hard reactionaries in a hard struggle, in the class struggle.

We continue the tradition of the antifacist resistance fighters today by mobilizing, with the same commitment, the same sense of responsibility, and the same fervor, all forces to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe from mankind and to safeguard peace in a lasting

manner. What is important today is to preserve human civilization from a nuclear catastrophe and to safeguard the survival of mankind. Everybody is requested to make his contribution.

We are making our contribution by doing everything to implement the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress with all our strength. (strong applause)

Schabowski Views Importance of Party Elections
AU1409065888 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10-11 Sep 88 p 5

[Report on speech by Guenter Schabowski at the party aktiv meeting in East Berlin on 9 September: "The GDR's Course Proves the Creative Character of Our View of the World"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of his speech at the bezirk party aktiv meeting, Guenter Schabowski expressed his gratitude to all workers who, on the occasion of World Peace Day and during the current weeks of maximum-performance shifts, are making a new, great contribution toward consistently further implementing the unity between economic and social policy. The speaker stressed that the peace shifts are the best way to meet the challenges of our times. They reflect the workers' understanding and convictions, which are as valid as ever: If peace is to be ensured and disarmament is to be furthered, socialism must be strengthened.

The bezirk party aktiv meeting has opened a further responsible work phase in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, Guenter Schabowski said. When addressing the kreis first secretaries on 12 February 1988, Erich Honecker specified the "straightforward leadership by the party, which is closely linked with the masses and borne by the confidence of the masses, and which is an ideopolitical and organizational activity that is being tested every day and which a mobilizing effect," as the guarantee of past and future success. To further improve the reliable guidance of our society by the party of the workers class and to further enhance the bonds with the masses of all communists—these are the aims of the elections to the leaderships of the basic organizations and to the kreis leaderships.

Party elections are not only a matter of intraparty concern but also an account of how the communists are fulfilling the assignments of serving the people and how the SED lives up to its claim of being a party that is there for the people. [passage omitted]

On the way toward arms limitation and disarmament, the GDR supports the application of the principle of equality and equal security in moving from one zero option to the next, and the building of a European home—according to the order of the Helsinki final document, for example—Guenter Schabowski noted.

There is still a long and difficult way ahead of us to achieve this objective, the speaker said. One must not expect NATO to give disarmament as a present. Disarmament can be achieved only by comprehensive, worldwide action by all forces of peace against the most aggressive circles of imperialism. The GDR is doing all it can to further strengthen socialism on a universal level. In this process, we follow the generally valid laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism under the specific conditions of the power of workers and peasants on German soil. We respect the experience of our fraternal countries and make use of them without copying them, particularly because there is no strategy which would be valid for all, the speaker stressed. [passage omitted]

Call for More Consistency in Plan Fulfillment [subhead]

The speaker was critical of backlogs in certain areas of plan fulfillment in Berlin—above all in the fulfillment of contracts with regard to state plan positions, the population's supply of consumer goods which had been agreed upon, as well as the reduction in spending for housing construction. All arising challenges must be met even more energetically. The forthcoming best workers conference will concentrate on these questions, Schabowski said.

The pledge of "With fulfilled plans to the party elections" is a new test of the Communists' bonds with their work collectives, the speaker said. These bonds are closest—as experience teaches—where, with the help of the party's ideopolitical work, the trade unions, and the FDJ, creative unrest is not inhibited, but stimulated, and where changes are initiated at exactly the point where good overall results are curtailed by defects in the work process and backlogs in plan fulfillment.

Guenter Schabowski said: "Let us therefore strengthen the willpower everywhere to be a reliable partner for cooperation, to feel personally responsible for the quality of one's work, to make use of work time for the highest productivity, and to advocate all things new in a militant way!"

The discussion of the 1989 plan, which will begin in all combines and enterprises in a week's time, also aims at this objective, Guenter Schabowski stressed. The profound discussion of the best ways and solutions for ambitious goals and a plan with interrelated targets must be organized by party and trade union organizations in a well-tested way. [passage omitted]

Soviet Envoy Cited on USSR Ties With ROK

LD1809170588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] The South Korean head of state has said it is of outstanding significance that interstate relations are being settled between his country and Hungary.

As we know, an agreement recently took effect under which the two countries are to establish permanent representations in one another's capitals. In connection with this, a Soviet diplomat in Tokyo told a Japanese newspaper that every country should determine for itself its diplomatic endeavors. He added that the Soviet Union does not intend to take up interstate relations with South Korea, but he did not exclude the possibility of the reciprocal establishment of commercial bureaus.

South Korean President No Tae-u had discussions in Seoul with Japanese Prime Minister Noburu Takeshita in which he emphasized that he expects relations between the East European countries and South Korea to develop.

Defense Ministry on Visit of U.S. General

LD1509165088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Lieutenant General Sydney Thomas Weinstein, deputy chief of staff of the U.S. Army, has visited our country. Although his visit was not official, he did hold talks with Lt Gen Ferenc Szucs, deputy chief of staff, and met with Lt Gen Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the People's Army and deputy minister of defense. Because a high-ranking general of the leading country in NATO does not hold talks every day in a member state of the Warsaw Pact, we went to see the head of the press office of the Defense Ministry.

[Unidentified correspondent] The meetings and discussions suggest that such an unofficial visit can have many uses. What exactly are these?

[Unidentified ministry spokesman] Well, for example, the U.S. guest inquired about certain aspects of Hungary's defense-military doctrine. Naturally, he received a suitable reply. Second, the possibilities for further developing relations between the U.S. Army and the Hungarian People's Army were discussed.

[Correspondent] You say "further development." Does this mean that contacts exist already?

[Spokesman] They do, but one must not read too much into that. Recently, U.S. military historians have visited Budapest in an official capacity. In the near future, Hungarian Army athletes will travel to the United States. In any case, they concluded the negotiations with the feeling that improving political contacts opens the possibility for further developing ties between the two armies as well.

'No Nuclear Consequences' From Plant's 'Fault'

LD1609234988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] An operational problem [uezemzavar] which occurred at the Paks [nuclear] power station posed no pollution hazard, we were told today at a news conference. Sandor Leko reports:

[Begin recording] [Leko] Not long ago, the number four block, which was commissioned 1 year ago, had to be closed down because a gasket in the main circulatory pump had developed a fault. Some say this was caused by the lack of proper servicing.

[Unidentified man] Well, in a sense, the servicing took place completely according to schedule. This was really the result of unprofessional work which is still statistically acceptable. As for the leak itself, there was no need to close down the power plant just because of this. However, these leaks do have a tendency to become more serious over time. And we did not want to enter the winter season of high energy requirements without repairing this fault and then have to shut down when more energy is needed than at present.

[Leko] What consequences can such a fault have?

[Man] This fault has no nuclear consequences. I must stress that the water seeping out of the primary circuit unfortunately also contains boron. It is therefore corrosive water. Imagine a big gasket on a pump where water starts leaking. Unfortunately, as I say, the water in the primary circuit is corrosive, and we do not want to operate under such conditions for any length of time. [end recording]

Further Reportage on Nagymaros Dam Issue

'Hundreds' Demonstrate

LD1709211488 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—Hundreds of people, mostly women, demonstrated against the construction of the barrage in Nagymaros on Saturday, the Pest County central police station informed MTI. Demonstrators marched to the site of construction and handed over a petition to the representatives of the power station, in which they demanded to call halt to the work. The demonstration was held peacefully without disturbances.

Group Protests Demonstrations

LD1209152788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] The Nagymaros committee of the patriotic people's front and the large village's social organizations have submitted a statement protesting that various groups are organizing under the name of the Nagymaros

Committee and are holding demonstrations against the building of the dam system. According to a statement by the local people's front, the so-called Nagymaros Committee does not represent the people of Nagymaros and it issues propaganda that is opposed to the interests of the settlement. The inhabitants of the large village dissociate themselves from the one-sided campaign, which disregards full objectivity.

Government Spokesman Comments

AU1209143688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session--Report To Be Submitted to the National Assembly on the Bos-Nagymaros River Dam System—Proposal on the Amendment of the Election Law—Report on the Yamburg Pipeline Project—Amnesty to 1956 Convicts—Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan Holds News Conference" —with the participation of Interior Minister Istvan Horvath, in Budapest on 7 September]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] MAGYAR NEMZET: Among the proposals for the amendment of the election law that, according to the draft bill, it was mentioned that only local citizens with the right to vote will be able to participate in nomination meetings. How can this be resolved and what is contained in the draft bill about this?

[Horvath] This idea is the result of the criticism voiced during the previous election in connection with the participation of people in these meetings who, although they worked in that area, did not live there and did not vote there. This practice should be stopped. I will tell you that I do not have an easy solution to this. The election procedure will, no doubt, have to have several regulations and practical guidelines. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Radio Foreign Service: Has the possibility of allowing the Budapest population to directly elect their own Budapest council been discussed during the current draft bill? The current system is rather complex and this issue has been on the agenda of every election reform so far. Can we expect some changes in this?

[Horvath] As far as I remember, this possibility has been discussed, but the proposal concerning the modification of the election law states that direct election applies to National Assembly deputies and local council members; and thus, in the case of Budapest, this applies to Budapest district council members. [passage omitted]

Government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan then spoke about the openness of the projected meeting between the Trade Union National Council and the government. There is not yet a final position on this issue, but the meeting will take place as soon as this month. Preparations are under way and discussions are also being held on how to inform the public about the meeting. Broader publicity will enable the public to receive a more complete picture and, hopefully, this will not hinder the debate. The official dailies of the two bodies, NEPSZAVA and MAGYAR HIRLAP, will be there, as well as MTI. Hungarian Television and Radio will broadcast the opening speeches made by the delegation heads. [passage omitted]

Radio Gyor: Will the current heated public debate affect the present decisions on the Bos-Nagymaros River dam system? Will the previous decisions be modified if justified by the experts' reports?

[Marosan] Of course, we cannot disregard the general atmosphere, but we must decide on the basis of concrete information and not on emotions. In connection with the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros River dam system, the Council of Ministers session decided that the current public debate and the proposals made during this debate have considerably contributed to reducing the possible risks involved. Thus, the government has judged the debate carried out so far as positive. For a long time, there has been no debate or information about this project. Today, we see that this has had a negative effect in many respects. Therefore, it is now understandable that the public debate currently underway is sometimes full of emotions. [passage omitted]

MTI: At its last meeting, the Poliburo reviewed the handling of tasks connected with the Hungarian-Romanian relations. The communique on this meeting included the fact that proposals had been made for the government. Has the current meeting of the Council of Ministers discussed this, and could we expect changes in the status of resettlers and in turning temporary residence permits into permanent ones?

[Marosan] In its 7 September meeting, the government did not deal with this issue as an individual point on the agenda. It was mentioned, however, that a plan was being worked on for the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations, and the government would discuss this plan in the near future. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister Interviewed

AU1209141888 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Interview with Dr Erwin Csuffra, deputy minister for environmental protection and water management, in the Budapest television studio by Robert Hochner, Austrian ORF editor, on 9 September 1988; recorded—answers in Hungarian with passage-by-passage German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Mr Minister.

[Csuffra] Good evening.

[Hochner] Mr Minister, there is considerable opposition to the Nagymaros power plant project—opposition from Austrian environmentalists and Austrian politicians as

well as from Hungarian environmentalists and reportedly even government circles. Why does the Hungarian Government insist on building such a controversial power plant?

[Csuffra] I think that there are two reasons for the big debate on the power plant. One is the fact that we failed to inform Hungarian society sufficiently about this large investment. If more information had been provided in past years about this investment, there would probably be much less opposition now. The second reason may be of a more general nature. Here in Hungary as well as in all of Europe and throughout the world, interest in environmental protection has emerged and grown only in recent years. There have also been quite a few discussions in Austria on the issue.

[Hochner] Mr Minister, you mentioned the example of Austria—there was a debate on a Danube power plant, and the government finally decided not to build it, because it did not want to ensure the construction of a power plant by using police equipped with clubs. Could the Hungarian Government consider abandoning the construction of the project instead of putting up with constantly intensifying protests?

[Csuffra] It is impossible to say anything about this in advance. I think, however, that these debates can be continued in the proper form, and I believe and am confident that by patiently informing the people, we will be able to largely dispel the doubts. Should there be any additional reasons that still have to be taken into account, changes could be considered. Several changes have already been made.

[Hochner] Mr Minister, Hungarian environmentalists and environmental experts have advanced two essential arguments against building the power plant. Let us begin with the first of the two arguments—the destruction of a reportedly internationally protected meadow landscape. Can Hungary, which is developing into a tourist country, afford to give up such a meadow landscape in favor of a power plant?

[Csuffra] The section of the Danube where the upper part of the power plant will be built is indeed a unique and interesting wildlife sanctuary. In that part of the Danube, many small tributaries and many islands were formerly created by man, and the whole region has gained immensely as a result. [Words indistinct] want to protect, if possible. The difference in my view may lie in the fact that better conditions than we have had in the past should and could be created by use of ecological systems. In order to avoid criticism that I intend to reduce the problem to a far too simple denominator, I would like to add that the present situation will definitely be changed. But in this respect, all scientific investigations that have been carried out have shown that the construction will not do irreparable harm to nature or to the environment. We have the task of preventing that.

[Hochner] Mr Minister, you are responsible for environmental protection. The second important argument is that Hungary does not have enough money to build enough purification plants upstream from the Nagymaros barrage. Are you not concerned that the water, including drinking water, will be endangered by damming up a very dirty Danube?

[Csuffra] That is a very big problem which cannot be tackled easily. We have dealt with it very thoroughly, and we must continue to do so. I can say that purification plants should have been built in the cities on the Danube earlier. To avoid difficulties, such plants will now be built from a central budget. The government has decided that the construction of purification plants will have to be started or completed before the power plant will be built.

[Hochner] Mr Minister, thank you very much. I also thank you because it is not everyday that the minister of another country has to be prepared to discuss an environmental problem in his country in a studio interview. Thank you very much, and good evening.

[Csuffra] You are welcome. Goodbye.

Deputies Discuss Controversy

LD1509212988 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—On Thursday [15 September] groups of MPs [members of parliament] held meetings in preparation for the next session of the parliament. The three counties directly affected by the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage projects—Gyor-Sopron, Komarom, Pest—held a joint meeting in Esztergom to discuss the related problems. At the discussion water management authorities and representatives of the environmentalists opposing the project were present.

In his keynote address Deputy Minister of Environmental Protection and Water Management Ervin Csuffra referring to the debates on the project said it was an error that the public was belatedly informed on the plans. Part of the public disagrees with the plans because recently protection of the environment has became an important issue. At the same time—according to his opinion—there are those, who using the barrage project as an economical pretext, air and discuss political views. He said he was convinced that the investment project is well prepared. A complex environmental protection study was prepared on the project, which is second to none in the world. He denied allegations that recently the construction operations were stepped up in order to prevent a disturbance in the proceedings. Austrian experts are working at Nagymaros according to the timetable which was defined in the contract, he said.

At the meeting Ferenc Antoni, the chairman of the Hungarian Environmental Protection Association also asked for the floor. He said the association agrees with

the construction project with reservations. At the same time he proposed to continue the construction operation under social control. The deputies of the three counties agreed to the proposal.

Nemeth Addresses Conference on Economy

LD1209175988 Budapest MTI in English
1651 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—At Gyula the 26th conference of economists was opened by the key-note address of Miklos Nemeth, member of HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] PC [Presidential Council] and secretary of the Central Committee. The meeting's topic is the corporate strategy related to the period of stabilization.

Miklos Nemeth mentioned that the position of the Hungarian economy regarding the accomplishment of stabilization aims and the changes planned for 1988. As basic judgement he highlighted that the rate of debt growth was slowed down and the introduction of new elements in the economy control did not cause break-down in the processes. The major efforts and targets of this year's national economy plan are approximately met.

The some 500 million US dollar turn which is envisaged this year in the capitalist balance of trade as compared to last year is of outstanding importance—emphasized Miklos Nemeth. By the end of the year the balance of trade is expected to reach the planned USD 250 million surplus. The hard currency expenditure associated with passport liberalization will be higher than calculated, and interest replayments slightly higher than planned. Due to these factors the current account deficit of USD 700 million, despite the positive balance of trade, is smaller than the last year's figure, but the extent of reduction fails to reach the expected level. In the ruble accounting trade with the socialist countries it is positive that imports increase more than envisaged.

Increase in production will be in the planned 1-1.5 per cent range. In this improvement the better than calculated agricultural production plays an important role. The producer price increase is envisaged to exceed the planned level and could be forecast at the 17 per cent level. The budget deficit will be higher by 5,000-8,000 million forints then planned for this year. The reduction in real wages could be contained in the planned ranges despite higher price rises and in social allowances there are additional compensations. He added, that as a result of the economic and social movements the income and property distribution was becoming more polarized and the living standard differences of some strata and groups became more pronounced with associated tensions. As a new phenomenon we have to face the concentrated employment problems emerging in some places.

Miklos Nemeth called the transformation of the property relations a key element in the economic programme with the focus on developing efficient operational forms for the social property and providing equal status for private and individual property.

To the differentiatedness of the economy, to the peculiarities of the individual sectors only a multicoloured, varied, dynamically developing, continously new and new formed proprietary system could adopt itself. In this system there is room for state owned enterprises, cooperatives, state-cooperative, state-private joint ventures, foreign capital based companies, conventional private property and individual property associated with large organizations.

Speaking on the relation of the CMEA and Hungary Miklos Nemeth emphasized:

As our economy was developed on the basis of this network of relations, it is incapable of operating without them and their shrinkage would pose a basic threat to the accomplishment of the internal and external balance. Therefore it is our elementary interest to make the best use of our available opportunities even in the presence of apparent limitations. Bilateral or multilateral solutions have to be initiated with our partners who make similar efforts and are ready to give a larger role to the market, commodity and financial relations in the relation.

The secretary of the Central Committee said on inflation:

Our efforts could only be to eliminate consciously and gradually the causes of inflation on which ground the accomplishment of stabilization will unambigously expressed in the reduction of the extent of inflation. Due to the balance requirements and for the improvement of economic clear-visibility the reduction of subsidies is to continue next year, which—depending on its extent—is a major factor in the inflation expected. Despite this fact the rate of inflation must decrease below this year's level.

More Companies 'Temporarily' Insolvent

LD1209162588 Budapest MTI in English
1309 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 12, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The number of companies which are temporarily insolvent is growing with higher amounts of debts overdue.

In July 1988 a total of 131 Hungarian companies had 23.4 billion forints (USD approx. 500 million) debts overdue, in June 119 companies had 19.4 billion forints, in May 104 companies had 17.3 billion forints debts overdue. In 1987 overdue debts totalled only 7.8 billion forints.

The fast worsening of the financial position of companies is associated with the new taxation and the strict monetary policy of the governemnt.

In the first half of the year, company profits on the national level dropped by 13 per cent, within this by 32 per cent in the manufacturing industry and by 60 per cent in the processing industry.

The present restrictive credit policy has acted primarily to reduce working asset credit.

Official Resumes Talks With Mecsek Miners

LD1709201788 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 17 (MTI)—The talks that started on August 23 between brigade leaders of the Mecsek colliery and Government Commissioner Laszlo Kapolyi were resumed at the Istvan pitch, the site of memorable events, on Saturday. Answering questions Laszlo Kapolyi said that though Hungarian coal mining has to adapt to the permanent transformation of the structure of world economy, no one questions the important role it is playing in domestic energy policy. As he said, according to versatile energy policy based on various sources of energy, Hungarian coal production is planned to meet some 30 per cent of the Hungarian energy demand. An annual two million tonnes or even more is needed out of the metallurgical coal excavated in the Mecsek.

Talking about the August stoppage of work at the Mecsek colliery Laszlo Kapolyi warned because it jeopardized our involvement in the international division of labour, but admitting his own responsibility he stated that he was not informed on time on the deterioration of events.

Brigade leader Antal Bischof, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Union of Mineworkers, said that the government narrowed down the problem to an unrest around bonuses, putting the blame on the management. However, the rapid local intervention resulted in only a sham settlement and the socio-policy tensions linger on because several earlier promises have not been kept and the threat of further strikes continue to exist.

In his answer the government comissioner underlined that he is aware of the unresolved problems and this is why he initiated this "belated dialogue", the resumption of the August talks. He said that all the elements of the miners' proposals were taken into account in the elaboration of the government's stand on the modification of taxation of the branch. He also drew the brigade leaders' attention to the fact that wage problems should be alleviated not from central but from local sources, which requires the utilization of the existing opportunities. In mining almost the only way of the renewal of the socialist brigade movement is the utilization of reserves inherent in the system in-company enterprise and the operation of autonomous workgroups, expoused his opinion the Hungarian Government commissioner.

Trade Agreement Signed With USSR, Romania

AU1509132088 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] An agreement is ready to be signed under which Hungary would export computer and telecommunication installations to the Soviet Union, Romania would receive electric power from the Soviet Union, and, as payment, Hungary would receive machinery, or even Dacia cars, from Romania. MTI's correspondent in Budapest learned about this from Karoly Gyorfi, head of Hungary's commercial representation in Bucharest.

Arriving Transylvanians Left Romania 'Illegally'

LD1009110688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Not long ago, after the Arad summit, we read in Hungarian papers that Romania would not encourage anyone to leave his birthplace, but that no one who wanted to leave the country would be prevented from doing so. Eva Cseh's report was made yesterday, long after the summit meeting.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] We have come through corn fields, canals, waded through water, bogs, fields, everything. We also crossed ploughed-up land.

[Second unidentified speaker] We were in the canal, and then the solider, the Romanian soldier, fired some rounds. And he passed us about five steps away. And my younger brother wanted to say something, so I put my hand over his mouth. It was a very bad feeling; all hope deserted me and my brother.

[First unidentified speaker] We were very hungry. But then we were taken to the police station. We cleaned ourselves up there and had a bath. We were given food and everything, and then financial aid. We came, the six of us, from Szalonta.

[Cseh] What luggage did you bring with you?

[First unidentified speaker] Nothing, only what we were wearing.

[Third unidentified speaker] We in Hungary thought that after the summit meeting relations between the two countries would improve, that the plight of Hungarians living in Romania would be better, and also the plight of all nationalities.

[Second unidentified speaker] We had high hopes because of this meeting, but the newspapers did not write about specific matters. We were watching television and waiting for the Hungarian state president [as heard] to

arrive in Szeged and give an account. All of us were following this closely. Certainly the Hungarians in Transylvania suffer, because many are suffering.

I applied for a passport but did not receive one. My sister is here. She also came over illegally 3 months ago. She works in Abadszalok, and that's where I would also like to go and start a new life, with her. [end recording]

[Presenter] This recording was made at the Bekescsaba council, where another 11 people are waiting for assistance. Eva Cseh has also learned that since the summit 79 Transylvanians have chosen Bekes County as their place of residence, although considerably more have arrived in the Viharsarok [southeastern corner of Hungary].

Daily Notes 'Drop' in Tourism With Romania

AU1409181688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Sep 88 p 5

["Muzslai"-signed report: "Are Changes Expected?—A Drop in Hungarian-Romanian Tourism"]

[Text] Increasing tourist traffic and settling relations were important points on the agenda of the meeting of Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and premier, in Arad. These issues are all the more important because alarming news has arrived from the Hungarian-Romanian border in recent months about tourist groups and individual travelers being turned back from the border for trumped-up reasons.

Statistics on the outgoing and incoming border traffic during the last 4 years show that the number of travelers is fluctuating and is decreasing. In 1984, 558,000 travelers crossed the border from Romania; 624,000 travelers from Romania came in 1985; 386,000 travelers arrived in 1986; 421,000 came in 1987; and only 152,000 people came from Romania by the end of this July.

In 1984, 985,000 Hungarian citizens traveled to Romania; more than 1,000,000 went in 1985; 1,193,000 in 1986; and 1,200,000 in 1987. We do not yet have exact statistics on this year's traffic, but we know that to date 5,000 Hungarians have visited Romania as members of an organized tourist group, hardly more than half the number of people as in the same period last year.

An agreement was reached in Arad to in the future have a meeting of experts from Bucharest's Tourism Ministry and the National Tourism Office. We can thus hope for an increase in traffic in both directions. Similar negotiations between the two countries' tourism experts were last held in November 1987, and readiness was expressed then for cooperation. There are no exact statistics on the Romanian counties visited by Hungarian travelers, but, obviously, the most frequented places are the towns and villages of Transylvania. (The Romanian tourism experts offers ski holidays to Hungarian tourists, mostly in Poiana Brasov, and Hungarians have begun to discover this place now.)

There is also cooperation between Hungary and Romania in the area of tourist information. Romania is represented at our yearly exhibition entitled "Tourism."

In the wake of the summit meeting in Arad, it is now cerain that Hungarian and Romanian tourism experts will have another meeting this year. We do not know what results these meetings will bring, nor the concrete subjects on the agenda. MAGYAR HIRLAP asked officials at the National Tourism Office whether we can expect an easing of limitations, like the obligation of tourists traveling to Romania to use hotels, and the answer was that we cannot expect changes in this respect because this is an internal Romanian measure.

Democratic Forum Representative Interviewed

AU0909091988 Vienna KURIER in German 8 Sep 88 p 5

[Interview with Rudolf Joo, representative of Hungary's Democratic Forum, by Wolgang Broer: "Our Existence Is a Challenge"; date, place not given]

[Text] Broer: Did the Democratic Forum become a political party last weekend as has been reported?

Joo: No. In our founding document we clearly stated that it is our intention to establish a spiritual political movement. This is an important difference compared to a political party. However, we expressly state that in the long run a multiparty system is necessary and inevitable in Hungary.

Broer: Do you want to nominate your own candidates for the 1990 parliamentary elections?

Joo: There has also been some confusion about this. Even in the last elections it was already possible—at least theoretically—for various social organizations to nominate their own candidates or to support independent candidates. Therefore, we consider it to be constitutionally possible for our movement to support independent candidates in 1990 or to nominate its own candidates. Once more: This does not mean that we want to take power or participate in it. However, we want to check on those in power and to form a counterweight to this power.

Broer: Does this means that you do not want to challenge the current regime?

Joo: I think that the challenge is a fact. We are a political movement with its own goals, with its own activities—independent of the regime. Our existence alone is a challenge to this power, because our movement is a

structured pressure group and is no longer anonymous, as it was before. However, there is no political rivalry in the sense that we are striving to take power.

Broer: Do you have branch organizations?

Joo: In addition to those that have been in existence for some time, we also have a number of others: In Szeged and in the Budapest workers' district of Csepel, for instance, local organizations of the Democratic Forum have been established. In particular, Csepel is very important. This is because it demonstrates that the workers class also shows interest. To date, our weakness has been that our movement has mainly spread among the intelligentsia.

Broer: How does the regime react?

Joo: We are open—also toward the leading political power in the country, that is, the MSZMP. We were very surprised that in a first statement the head of the Central Committee Department for Agitation and Propaganda even "encouraged" the MSZMP members to participate in the Democratic Forum. Of course, this gives us food for thought. We will be very critical of those who are "sent" to us.

Broer: Does this mean that you fear infiltration?

Joo: There is certainly historic experience in this respect, but at present I do not feel there is any such danger.

Opposition Members Hold Vienna News Conference

AU1909113488 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 17 Sep 88 p 3

[Text] Yesterday at a news conference of the International Human Rights Society in Vienna, several representatives of different groups of Hungarians "who think differently" expressed skepticism toward the MSZMP and its promises of fundamental reforms.

"The MSZMP will not give up its predominant position voluntarily," historian Sandor Radnoti (Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers)—a representative of the heterogeneous "Network of Free Initiatives"—said, even though only 2 days before Hungarian President Bruno Straub had promised a multiparty system as a necessary further development of the reform program which has just been initiated. "If a pluralistic system were introduced now, with free elections, the MSZMP would—in all probability—slide into the minority," sociologist Ottilie Solt, member of another Network organization, added.

In addition to the Network, two other opposition groups have been formed in Hungary: In contrast to the Network, the homogeneous "Hungarian Democratic Forum" and the Szarszo Front, which is only a few days old, are both willing to cooperate with the current Budapest leadership on the basis of compromise.

Within the communist bloc of power, reformist wings have also formed to an increasing extent, such as the March Front, whose possibilities were, however, assessed rather sceptically. Sandor Racz, chairman of the legendary Workers Council of 1956, saw a realistic chance in the fact that the opposition groups are gaining power and are learning how to intervene in politics.

Another demand of most of the dissidents present—albeit an unrealistic one, as they themselves admitted—was the resignation of Karoly Grosz, the current MSZMP general secretary, who has lost the population's trust in spite of his policy of openness: Unfulfilled promises or, for instance, his meeting with Romania's conducator [Romanian word for "leader" used] Ceausescu were given as some of the reasons for this. According to Racz, one of the preconditions for far-reaching reforms is the withdrawal of the Red Army from Hungary, which, however, first and foremost depends on developments within the Soviet Union.

Further on 16 Sep Kiszczak-Walesa Meeting

Roundtable To Begin Mid-October

LD1609231488 Warsaw PAP in English
2038 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 16—General Czeslaw Kiszczak held here today another meeting with Lech Walesa, Stanislaw Ciosek, Father Alojzy Orszulik and Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski. The number of participants in the meeting was extended to cover the following: Artur Bodnar, father Bronislaw Dembowski, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Jan Janowski, Jan Jarlinski, Lech Kaczynski, Mieczyslaw, Krajewski, Wladyslaw Liwak, Harald Matuszewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jacek Merkel, Jerzy Ozdowski, Alojzy Pietrzyk, Edward Radziewicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Romuald Sosnowski, Boleslaw Struzek, Jan Szczepanski, Tadeusz Szymanek and Stanislaw Wisniewski.

In the course of the talk the meeting discussed the organization of the "round table". The stands came closer. It was decided that the "round table" would deal, among others, with the model of functioning of the state and public life, the acceleration of the development and modernization of the national economy, the shape of the Polish trade union movement. The meeting decided that the debates of the "round table" would start in mid-October.

Leadership on Solidarity

LD1709152288 Hamburg DPA in German
1314 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Progress was made in the negotiations between representatives of the government, Solidarity, and the official trade unions. All sides agreed to prepare the planned roundtable talks in mid-October. Representatives of the Polish leadership have promised that there would be a place for Solidarity in due course.

Following the meeting, the chief of Solidarity in Wroclaw, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, told Western journalists in Warsaw today that Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak had referred to resistance in the party apparatus and had urged the participants to believe the leadership when it said that it is in fact planning authentic and major reforms in which it sees a place for Solidarity. The leadership is taking a certain risk with these negotiations.

The talk was attended by 25 people, including 10 Solidarity activists, 5 representatives of the official trade union (OPZZ), and 2 Catholic Church representatives. A joint communique states that their standpoints had moved closer together. Workers' leader Lech Walesa said he is satisfied. He had also had private talks with Kiszczak on the edges of the talks.

It was reported in circles participating in the talks that at the start of the meeting the interior minister repeated the old standpoint that he sees no possibility of a second trade union in enterprises, but employees could decide for themselves what form of trade unions they wanted within the framework of existing legislation. "Extremists" and persons who present faits accomplis or who organize strikes should be excluded from the roundtable.

Walesa pointed out that they first had to discuss pluralism and legalizing Solidarity at the roundtable, too. Solidarity has no intention of destabilizing the economy and will not run a race for higher wages. Candidate Politburo member Stanislaw Ciosek had protested that the mere fact that they were talking with each other means de facto recognization of Solidarity and that they can do no more for the present.

Walesa went to Czestochowa today to take part in the "workers' pilgrimage", an annual gathering place for Solidarity supporters. It is regarded as certain that he will use the opportunity to discuss the outcome of the talks with other Solidarity leaders and his advisors.

The Catholic newspaper PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI has published a pastoral letter in which the bishops demand access by all spheres of society to the mass media. They stated that Catholics in Poland are discriminated against and that the constitutional principle of equality of all citizens is not being fulfilled in this sphere either. Although the overwhelming majority of the population is Catholic, Catholic periodicals account for only a little over 2 percent of copies printed and only received 1.5 percent of the paper allocated for the press.

Talks Participant Comments

LD1709202288 Warsaw PAP in English
1906 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17—Professor Jan Janowski, president of the Krakow Higher School of Mining and Metallurgy (AGH), Sejm deputy, participant in yesterday's meeting between Kiszczak and Walesa, held in an enlarged composition, said in the main edition of the television news bulletin tonight that the "most optimistic element of yesterday's meeting was the fact that participants saw the necessity for the continuation of these talks.

"We are aware that we are talking about the most important problems of Poland. That we are speaking about things in which the finding of rapprochement, reaching an agreement in views will demand very difficult talks, concessions and compromise, and working out a joint stand on issues which are to be decisive of a better future for Poles.

"I had the impression that this goal guided the participants in yesterday's meeting," Janowski declared.

19 Sep Sejm Session Previewed, Reported

Czyrek Predicts Change

AU1909120688 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Sep 88 p 2

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Klaus Bachmann in Warsaw: "Decisive Parliament Session; Czyrek: 'Poland Before a Government Reshuffle'"; date not given]

[Text] Bachmann: At the last Central Committee plenum you stated that there is no room for a pluralism of confrontation in Poland. Does this exclude the legalization of Solidarity or can you imagine some sort of trade union pluralism that would not lead to confrontation?

Czyrek: It is clear that pluralism comprises contrasts and conflicts of interests—this has to be expected. For me, however, confrontational pluralism is something different: a pluralism that leads to confrontation and destabilization of the economy, the state, and the constitutional order. The pluralism that we favor should be based on dialogue and understanding.

Solidarity was not a trade union but a social movement—a de facto political party—which strove for just this confrontational pluralism. Therefore, the demand to legalize Solidarity again in line with its old statutes, structures, and programs simply is a misunderstanding.

Bachmann: And what about new statutes?

Czyrek: At the last Central Committee plenum we stated that we are against carrying the political struggle into the enterprises. The enterprises are there to earn the national income. The political discussions should take place elsewhere: in parliament, in the press, in associations, and clubs—but not in the enterprises and not through the trade unions. In Poland the trade union movement should not try to imitate the Italian-French model, but rather the Austrian and FRG example. After all, in Austria there is a trade union movement, too; but does the workers class suffer because of that?

Bachmann: At the last Central Committee plenum it was said that the PZPR was open to the trade union movement being enriched. Would the legalization of Solidarity purely as a trade union, without a political character, be such an enrichment?

Czyrek: All directions of the trade union movement, including the direction of Solidarity, can make a positive contribution to working out a new model of the Polish trade union movement. For this purpose, there will be talks at the negotiating table, and it depends on the participants how fast we will work out this model.

Bachmann: You said that the trade union movement should deal with the workers' concerns and should not engage in political discussions. Now OPZZ Chairman and Politburo member Alfred Miodowicz, has attacked the government very harshly and called for its resignation. Is this not also a politicization of the trade unions?

Czyrek: The arguments of the trade unions, explaining why they no longer trust the government, are based on things that are within their sphere of responsibility: societal, economic, and social policy. These were not political arguments. And concerning the trade unions' call on the Sejm deputies to voice this standpoint in the Sejm, we have to say that this is their right.

Bachmann: How will the majority of the deputies, who are PZPR members, act at the Sejm session today, Monday?

Czyrek: As far as I know, the majority of the PZPR deputies will vote for a change in the government.

Jaruzelski on Sejm's Authority

LD1809224288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Tomorrow at 0900 [0700 GMT] the Sejm meeting will begin. [passage omitted]

The PZPR, ZSL, and SD deputies' clubs met today on the eve of the Sejm meeting.

During the meeting of the PZPR Deputies Club, in which Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner participated, the deputies familiarized themselves, among other things, with the work of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission for the Control of the Implementation of the Economic Reform. Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska, the commission's chairman, recalling the signs of public dissatisfaction and also the opinion of the OPZZ, expressed the commission's doubts as to whether the government, in its present composition, could effectively continue to carry out the work of reforming the economy.

Wojciech Jaruzelski recalling the (?work of the Eighth) PZPR Central Committee Plenum emphasized the authenticity of the deciding role of the Sejm to assess the government's activity and decisions undertaken in connection with this. The Politburo, he said, has treated with complete seriousness the assessment made by the Extraordinary Sejm Commission. The political culture which is being formed ought to become a permanent achievement, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated.

The need for a deep reconstruction of the government, Roman Malinowski said during the meeting of the ZSL Deputies Club, is not only related to personnel matters. The most important problem connected with this is the broadening of the coalition character and the division of competency between the government and the political

parties. It is a question of the parties functioning through their representatives in the government and not governing through commands and directives. The deputies also made an assessment of the efforts which have been made up to now on reforming the economy.

Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, also while speaking at the meeting of the SD Deputies Club, emphasized that the party is against the direct administering of state executive organs through political parties. He said we are well on the way to settling that important problem, which is so significant for the correct functioning of the state structures.

Debate Begins as Caucuses Meet

LD1809224888 Warsaw PAP in English
2204 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—The Sejm debate on the causes of the present economic and social situation in Poland and on the evaluation of government activities, scheduled to begin on Monday, Sept. 19, in fact began this evening in Sejm caucuses.

During a meeting of the PUWP Sejm caucus—attended by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski—the deputies acquainted themselves with the course of the work of the Extraordinary Sejm Committee for Monitoring the Implementation of the Economic Reform. The meeting was also attended by Premier Zbigniew Messner.

The chairwoman of the extraordinary committee, Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska, recalling the manifestations of social dissatisfaction, as well as the OPZZ's (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) opinion, expressed the committee's doubts whether the government in its present composition could effectively (?continue) the process of reforming the economy.

She stressed the need of a wider participation of coalition forces in the government and simultaneous enlarging of the government's composition to include experts in the individual branches of the economy who have been critical of the way the reform has been realized for a long time.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, recalling the stance of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum, stressed the authenticity of the Sejm's decisive role in the evaluation of the government's activities and in taking decisions connected with this. The Political Bureau in all seriousness approached the evaluation made by the extraordinary Sejm committee. "The political culture being shaped now should become a permanent achievement," Wojciech Jaruzelski said.

During a meeting of the UPP (United Peasant Party) Sejm caucus the chairman of the party's chief committee, Roman Malinowski, said that the need for a deep restructuring of the government did not refer to personnel issues alone.

"The most important problem, associated with this, is the widening of its coalition-like character and dividing political powers between the government and the political parties. At the same time the thing is not to 'depoliticize' the government, because it has to be political. The thing is that the parties should act through their representatives in the government and not govern through orders and directives," Malinowski said.

"The strengthening of inter-party partnership is one of the elements beyond argument in the creation of more favourable conditions for political reform in our country. Others include the recognition of the principles of socialism, our alliances and the fact that enterprises cannot be the arena of a devastating political or labour struggle," Malinowski added.

During a meeting of the democratic party's Sejm caucus, the chairman of the party's Central Committee, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, accentuated that the party opposed the direct running of the state's executive bodies by political parties.

"Political directives should be relayed through the parties' representatives sitting on the representative bodies and only the decisions made by these bodies—the Sejm, people's councils—should become binding for the executive bodies. We are on the right road to put this problem, so important for the correct functioning of state structures, in order," Mlynczak said.

Another topic of dicussion was the negative evaluation of the attempts of pressuring the Sejm—in the context of the OPZZ's resolutions. It was stressed that nobody had the right to threaten the Sejm with strikes and the only tenet of the decisions to be made by the parliament should be the results of the extraordinary Sejm committee's work.

Sejm Session Opens

LD1909080288 Warsaw PAP in English
0733 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The Sejm (Polish parliament) started its meeting at 9 a.m. here today, attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The debate was opened by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski.

The meeting started with a report prepared by the Extraordinary Sejm Committee for the Supervision of the Implementation of the Economic Reform, presented by deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska.

Today's agenda also envisages address by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner.

About 30 deputies are expected to take part in the discussion.

Jandy-Jedroszka Reports

LD1909100488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0713 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Report by Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jedroszka on behalf of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for Control of the Introduction of the Economic Reform at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpts] May it please the house: On 22 August this year the Sejm Presidium submitted for examination by the Sejm Extraordinary Commission for Control of the Introduction of the Economic Reform a government report on the implementation of the special powers and privileges for the Council of Ministers. The tense socioeconomic situation, the loudly voiced expressions of dissatisfaction and, in connection with this, the public [word indistinct] communication of the assessment of the situation by the extraodinary commission meant that the commission had to take a broader look at the utilization of the special powers in the context of the implementation of the assumptions of the second stage of the reform. [passage omitted]

May it please the house, in making a general assessment of the socioeconomic situation in 1988 it has to be said that the granting of special powers to the Council of Ministers did not cause a perceptible acceleration of the implementation of the assumptions of the second stage of the reform. After all, one could already then have begun the actions [word indistinct] which are being planned at present in the consolidation plan in preparation. The commission states that in recent months—the Socioeconomic Council also points this out—there has been a further deterioration in the general equilibrium, in many sectors of the economy, which is causing public dissatisfaction. Inflationary phenomena are strengthening and deepening, which weaken the incentives to better management. A serious collapse of the link between wages and the real effectiveness of labor has recently occurred. The bureaucratic formulas of the tax system weaken the reform mechanisms, and (?their excessive amounts) resulting from the need to finance subsidies hamper increasing the effectiveness of [word indistinct] activity. The mechanisms to promote the process of structural changes are still not working; monopolistic practices still persist. The technical standard of goods and production quality is constantly deteriorating which, as a result, lowers society's living standard. The public belief that increased personal income from work is becoming less and less worthwhile and that it depends less and less on labor productivity, is becoming increasingly entrenched. This results in increasing social [word indistinct] and deepening disbelief in the mechanisms of the reform.

An increasing discrepancy can be observed between the reform's assumptions and their implemented form, which causes reluctance also in enterprises. The lack of faith in the effectiveness of the reform is growing, and this has a fundamental effect on worsening the state of management. The reduced profitability of agricultural production is particularly dangerous. This results primarly from an increase in the prices of agricultural products, incommensurate with procurement prices. The result of this is a curtailment of production, particularly cattle breeding, which is already having a clear effect on supplies to the market. There is still no visible improvement in satisfying the need for housing, which is the cause of growing dissatisfaction and exasperation, particularly among young people. All this leads to social doubt as to whether the centers of econmic authority and the organs responsible for the hitherto meager progress in reforming the economy will have enough energy and consistency of action in the further implementation of the reforms.

Citizen speaker, may it please the house, the recent unrest and drastic signs of social dissatisfaction, also expressed in the opinions of the OPZZ, deepen the doubt whether the government in its composition to date, which has to a considerable extent lost public confidence, can continue to carry out the process of reforming the economy without that public support. The commission is of the opinion that the failures to date in reforming the economy place on the agenda the need to make credible the reform program and to make credible the people who are to implement radical changes in economic and social life.

Under these existing realities and economic conditioning factors it would be a great danger to concentrate efforts only on spectacular (?ad hoc) actions. It is thus the opinion of the Extraordinary Commission for Control of the Introduction of the Economic Reform that it is vital to effect profound changes in the composition of the government, to expand the participation of coalition forces in this government, and also to expand its composition by including competent experts in various sectors of the economy, who have long been criticizing the way of implementing the economic reform. In the commission's opinion this could restore public confidence in the action of the centers of executive authorities. It is to be expected that the roundtable talks will be conducted in this direction, too.

Changes in the economic management system are also essential, as is a revision of the instruments of influence applied to date both in the center and in the provinces. There should also be a clear definition of the relation between the powers and responsibilities of centers of political and of economic authority. [applause]

Government Resignation Submitted

AU1909081888 Paris AFP in English
0816 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 19 (AFP)—Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner submitted his government's resignation to parliament on Monday.

Mr. Messner made the announcement in a radio address. His move came after a call by parliament for a major government shake-up.

Mr. Messner's administration has come under fire for its handling of the country's economic reform programme.

Solidarity Demonstration at South Shrine 18 Sep

AU1909074088 Paris AFP in English
0547 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Czestochowa, Sept 19 (AFP)—Between 2,000 and 3,000 Solidarity activists demonstrated in this southern town Sunday after the annual workers' pilgrimage to the shrine of the Black Virgin of Czestochowa.

The Black Virgin, housed in the Jasna Gora monastery, symbolises the spirit of independence for the Poles.

Lech Walesa, leader of the banned trade union [Solidarity], was one of 50,000 worshippers taking mass, standing beside the parents of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, the pro-Solidarity priest killed by renegade secret policemen in 1984.

Father Popieluszko began the tradition of an annual pilgrimage to Jasna Gora, which resisted successive Swedish attacks in the 17th century.

But Mr. Walesa did not take part in the one-hour protest in the streets of Czestochowa, which passed without incident under the eyes of police.

Demonstrators chanted "Solidarity will win", "We want Lech, not Wojciech" (Poland's leader is General Wojciech Jaruzelski), and the Solidarity slogan "No freedom without Solidarity."

Senior Solidarity figures like Zbigniew Bujak, the union's leader in Warsaw, and Alojzy Pietrzyk, chairman of the strike committee at the Jastrzebie mines, where a recent strike wave began, led the protesters.

Mr. Walesa made a brief speech at the shrine, saying that he would come back next year to thank the Black Virgin for granting the union's wishes. He said the legalisation of Solidarity was at hand.

Polish Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak has promised round table talks between the government, Solidarity and the official trade unions in mid-October, with the possibility of legalising Solidarity on the agenda.

The crowd seemed subdued by a biting wind and incessant rain. Some observers said a sermon given by Henryk Cardinal Gulbinowicz, archbishop of Wroclaw, was too circumspect for the tastes of workers who had come from the nearby Silesian coalmines, the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, the Nowa Huta steelworks near Krakow and the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw.

Worshippers stood silent, but brandished banners calling for more "medicine, bread and freedom," and the reinstatement of workers sacked in the recent strike wave, which ended when Gen. Kiszczak promised talks.

One banner read "Communism is terror and injustice," while another said "Lies, murder, terror and alcoholism are the fruits of 44 years of communism in our unhappy country."

Mr. Pietrzyk closed the demonstration with the words: "We know the situation in Poland is explosive. If the other side fails to understand that there has to be an immediate solution to the demands made by the majority of workers then there could be a tragedy. We will do all we can to stop it."

Warsaw Notes Interview With Walesa on Solidarity

LD1709111888 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] As you probably heard in the news, preparatory talks are under way in Warsaw for the roundtable meeting involving representatives of various shades of public opinion in Poland. Among those negotiating the issue was the home affairs minister, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who came up with the original idea, and Lech Walesa. Our reporter talked to Mr Walesa in Gdansk last week. Here is a full transcript of the interview, in translation.

[Begin recording] [Question] Listening to foreign radio stations, one has the impression that the legalization of Solidarity will be the sole issue discussed at the roundtable meeting.

[Answer] No, this is not true. Things look somewhat different. Naturally, I've got my own viewpoint, while the government has its own, different one. I think we have to first tackle the problems eventually leading to a settlement of the Solidarity issue, but without delaying tackling problems of national importance: economic, social, and political, not necessarily related to Solidarity. Let me repeat: I do have a certain point of view on all the problems and will have to consult it again with decision-makers. I think my viewpoint is better than the government's, but I don't know—perhaps I'm wrong.

[Question] Mr Walesa, you said in a recent interview that a kind of a generation gap, a split, was created between your generation and the young generation.

[Answer] Not a split, perhaps. You see, I was born in 1943 and belong to a generation brought up in the postwar hardships and poverty. The generation of my sons has a different starting-point and a different point of reference. They watch television and see the world making brisk progress, on the one hand, and Poland walking at a slower pace, on the other. We have to understand the young and cannot adopt a daddy's approach to them. We have to be a little less of a daddy. There's no doubt for today, Mr Walesa continued, the latest strikes show that there can be no freedom without Solidarity, [passage indistinct] if only because of the new generation joining in and the amount of experience gathered. Let me return to my concept, so far not presented on Polish radio, even for its foreign listeners.

In 1980, we halted Poland's march in all directions, in physical and practical terms, but once the brakes were applied, there were no proposals on how to accelerate, for there could be no such proposals. The government had its own concept, but there was no opposition able to present a real and feasible program to be accepted by all sides. Hence (they started up) discussions in search of [passage indistinct] quarrel as to the direction of developments and the possibility of accord. That period ended and we now have 1988 and Lech Walesa talking to Gen. Kiszczak. There's a chance that the discussion which so far failed (?toward) practical effects can bring some, because certain ideas came to fruition [words indistinct] and should be translated into life: ideas on which agreement can be reached. Everything indicates that for the first time we are in a more favorable situation than in 1980, because we have some ideas which we couldn't have then.

I take one more risk, Mr Walesa continued, because I see all those ideas, budding possibilities and hopes on both sides. Hence my decision to halt the strikes and to adopt once again a peaceful approach to all the issues. Will I succeed? If not, it will be very tragic, because the young generation, with its different experience and point of view, will not reflect on the problems that we are concerned with, namely that, with the threat of poverty, certain things have to be done through a compromise. I had a close look at these youngsters and I believe that, in the name of responsibility for the country, for everyone, for what has been achieved, it is once again necessary for the two sides, coming from afar as they do, to seek compromise. Actually, there is some understanding between us and the government. All in all, the theoretical struggle has led to an interesting situation, which should be taken advantage of. I put my stake on it.

[Question] Have all these changes which took place on both sides been brought home to Solidarity people abroad?

[Answer] These are two different things. Of course, Solidarity abroad has to serve first of all the ideas championed here in Poland, rather than be a separate entity. It cannot build anything new or different nor be in confrontation to the Solidarity in Poland. Poland is here and their place is here. Everything must be done to bring many of those people back to Poland, for they feel like old replanted trees abroad. The entire Solidarity abroad, Mr Walesa said, must serve Polish Solidarity. It cannot have its own policy and it won't have it, until I've got anything to say. [sentence as heard]

[Question] Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, a Solidarity advisor and a member of the Presidential Consultative Council, said in a TV interview recently that at the moment, we have much broader possibilities to express our views, broader than 3 years ago or than we'd thought 7 years ago it would be possible.

[Answer] You see, certain ideas, certain [word indistinct] from both sides have one acceptance or understanding. This interview is one of them. This theoretical thrashing, this big quarrel, is not going to disappear, but it already led to a situation in which this interview can take place and certain things can be done. But all this is not a Godsend. It is neither the government's gift nor Solidarity's victory. It's common awareness that there is no other way out. [end recording]

Walesa Interviewed on National Accord, Pluralism

LD1809120988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1050 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Announcer-read "excerpts" of Lech Walesa interview with journalists Piotr Gabriel and Karol Jackowski published in the "latest issue" of the monthly journal KONFRONTACJE; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Question] How do you conceive of the national accord?

[Answer] Once again, as the mobilization of pluralism, while at the same time remembering that it may change into destruction and anarchy. For this reason barriers, locks, and restrictions must be established. A group has to exist which, while not withdrawing from democratic principles, will quickly and skillfully remove all kinds of obstacles.

[Question] Did you have problems in inducing the shipyard workers to end the strike?

[Answer] Enormous ones. After all, I brought them no guarantees from Warsaw. I could not obtain guarantees and I understand this, but not everyone approaches it or understands it this way. Not everyone perceives that something is changing, something is beginning to happen.

[Question] What, for the moment, is difficult to define more precisely?

[Answer] Seven years have passed since the end of our legal activity and we are different. We have all changed. The situation has changed. That is why one must look

differently at what we have initiated in Warsaw; one must wait. I can afford patience. On the other hand, I perceive that others can't afford it, because they have nowhere to live and don't last until the next pay day.

[Question] Have you learned anything in the past 7 years?

[Answer] Yes, the even greater need for compromise and for understanding all arguments or at least trying to. And for a compromise that builds, on the condition that it is not swindling but taking realities into account and weighing everything appropriately, states Lech Walesa in an interview with journalists from the REPORTER, issued by Interpress, Piotr Gabriel and Karol Jackowski. The interview is printed by the KONFRONTACJE monthly.

'Military Backlash' Feared if Solidarity Legalized

AU1709133988 Paris AFP in English 1325 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 17 (AFP)—The Polish authorities have told the leaders of the outlawed trade union Solidarity that they fear a military backlash if they satisfy the union's demand for legal status, a Solidarity spokesman said Saturday.

Wladislaw Frasyniuk told a news conference here that a senior communist party member participating in talks with Solidarity here on Friday also rejected the possibility of allowing workers a choice of unions.

The talks centered on an agenda for negotiations on Poland's future which the government has offered to hold with its opponents. Officials said these will take place in mid-October, but Solidarity leader Lech Walesa insisted more preparation was required.

"We did not obtain Solidarity's right to recognition," Mr. Frasyniuk said. "We did not think that we would achieve this immediately, but we believed that the government would at least make a statement saying that it envisaged the possibility of Solidarity returning to legal activity."

Solidarity was outlawed in January 1982, several weeks after Polish military authorities declared martial law, accusing independent union leaders of seeking political power.

Mr. Frasyniuk said Stanislaw Ciosek, a senior party official, told the meeting Friday that the politburo opposed lifting the ban on Solidarity because it "feared a backlash from the gassroots of the party and from army and police officers, who are not ready to accept Solidarity."

Mr. Ciosek said he "could see no possibility" of an alternative to the official OPZZ union. Workers would have to decide what kind of union they wished "within the framework of existing legislation", he said.

The existing laws permit only one union in each workplace.

The latest meeting between Mr. Walesa and Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak was the third in less than three weeks.

After their first meeting, on August 31, Mr. Walesa persuaded workers across the country to halt two weeks of strikes which had paralysed the economy and caused the most serious unrest in Poland for seven years.

Malinowski on Recognizing Opposition Groups

LD1809134088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1050 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Announcer-read "selected excerpt" from Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski's interview with the weekly magazine PERSKTYWY entitled "So That Time Does Not Slip Through Our Fingers," date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] Today in the press review we have several selected views and opinions on the current situation in Poland and roads leading to the solution of our political problems.

Roman Malinowski, Sejm speaker and chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) speaks out in the columns of the weekly PERSPEKTYWY. We have selected an excerpt from the extensive interview:

[Question not specified]

[Answer] I think that the activity that has commenced, relative to the passage of time, is taking on a more concrete shape, with greater scope and expression, and will in fact expand the base of governing and will include representatives of constructive opposition in the state and social structures, including the Sejm and the government. Certainly, this will widen and enrich dialogue and national accord.

[Question] But aren't you afraid that excessive risk will be attached to this, because opposition voices are also being heard?

[Answer] This is undoubtedly an important and courageous step. Besides, courage was and is necessary for both sides. Of course this is tied up with risk, but this attempt must be made. A new quality is expected in the forms of public and political life. It is time to learn to discard resentment and prejudice, to renounce obduracy, to manifest trust and understanding, to have respect for the views of the partner, and to be capable of

conducting dialogue with him, with thoughts and concern for the state. I want to emphasize once again that this is the only way to create a great Polish coalition that is capable of leading the country out of the deep crisis, of widening the social base of government, and of including wider social forces in the reform.

[Question] Which means, if I understand it correctly, that it is a matter of creating conditions for the legalization of the opposition?

[Answer] Legalization, as you define it, means not only that the authorities recognize the existence of the opposition. It means something more, and not that its representatives will be acting in the role of judges or censors of the authorities' actions, since this would be the easiest thing. Well, the sense of a constructive opposition is dependent on its exponents finding themselves within our state structures. This will assure them influence on partnership principles and on decisions made there, but at the same time, will oblige them to take responsibility. Joint decisionmaking must be tied to coresponsibility. PERSPEKTYWY entitles the interview with Roman Malinowski "So That Time Does Not Slip Through Our Fingers."

Jaruzelski Chairs 'Party Tasks' Meeting

LD1709191888 Warsaw PAP in English
1549 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 17—A meeting of the PUWP CC Secretariat, first secretaries of PUWP voivodship committees and CC department heads was held here today with PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski in the chair. The meeting discussed current tasks of the party.

Council of Ministers Holds Session 18 Sep

LD1809162788 Warsaw PAP in English
1548 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—A session of the Council of Ministers was held here today to discuss problems related to tomorrow's Sejm meeting, the government press office has announced.

Rakowski Interviewed on Strikes, Roundtable

LD1609213988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2010 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] [Presenter] A meeting at Mieczyslaw Rakowski's. We now present the first in a series of program in which the host in charge of the mass media, and his guests will discuss matters of interest to the public in Poland. Taking part in the first meeting are: Piotr Aleksandrowicz of PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY; Jerzy Baczynski of POLITYKA; and correspondent Wojciech Bielecki:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] Welcome, gentlemen and fellow journalists, to my workplace. I am at your disposal. You have certain questions; that is what we agreed, that you would come with questions. I will listen and try to answer them.

[Unidentified speaker] Because we are meeting in the first half of September, the first question suggests itself. All of us are living and breathing the preparations for the roundtable and this is a political breakthrough, but there are two questions that arise in this connection and I would like to ask your opinion. First, perhaps because there are so few communiques about the course of the talks, the impression one gets is that since the wave of strikes petered out, the whole operation has slowed down, that the authorities are hedging a bit, that it is all dragging out. Hence, the views that, if you do not bring out the strike pistol, there will be no political breakthrough. I know, of course, that you are not participating directly in the preparations on the organizational side for this meeting, but we know, we are convinced that you are participating in drawing up the political standpoint on the authorities' side.

Here we have the second question: Because the definition itself of political realities, or real socialism, has changed in recent years, one no longer says that socialism is a specific form of organization in society. One says rather that it is certain values. But what values? Where is the limit to the compromise beyond which the government side will not go? Could you specifically enumerate where the barrier to negotiations will be placed? Perhaps there is no such barrier.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] Are the participants on this side, the side situated in the Central Committee building, the government side, aware of the authentic distribution of social forces and the (?process) linked with this?

[Rakowski] I will begin with the statement that there have been few communiques up to now concerning the preparations for this roundtable meeting. Well, one must agree with that, but this is not because somebody is slowing down the preparations or because, now that the strikes are over, the government side, let us call it that, thinks that it can prepare for that roundtable more calmly and slowly or else take more time. That is not the reason. The point is that in this political situation which we are experiencing, the preparation of this kind of roundtable requires very varied steps, often very delicate ones, because various people are to sit down at that table, people with different orientations, basically, including political ones.

Hence, it is necessary to obtain their agreement. One must talk to them. All these are events that happen every day in Poland, when preparations for a roundtable are concerned. Thus, the authorities are not using this post-strike period to let everything run loose, or to run in the

lowest gear. No, we would like for the roundtable to take place as soon as possible, but I repeat, it demands various efforts. And as often happens in politics, not everything at the preparatory stage has been submitted to the public. This has nothing to do with limiting freedom, or a particular desire, inherent desire, to keep secrets. This is the first matter. Second...

[Speaker, interrupting] Is it not that political progress has been forced on the authorities? This is the impression given by the origin of the roundtable; would it have happened if not for the wave of strikes? We are continually experiencing what the government side does not appreciate: disregard for time; when there is no strong social pressure, nothing happens. Only when coffee has been spilled on the table do we begin to wipe it off urgently.

[Rakowski] Yes. I do not share this view, because I personally think that the roundtable is the result of a certain line adopted by our party in earlier years. Simply, I have in mind a line of accord and struggle. There was such a formula. In fact, at one time it was alomost forgotten. But from this line arose all the efforts that have been made in recent years for widening the sphere of influence of the party and her allies. This is the first point.

The second point: If you look at the past, please notice that, for example, the release of political prisoners in the fall of 1986 happened without any pressure; there was no pressure at the time in the form of a strike. Yes, certainly such a step was demanded, but the authorities, if we stick to this concept, carried out that step taking into consideration the existing situation. After that the Consultative Council appeared. It was received with a little surprise, with a little uncertainity. It was recognized as being some kind of step in an unknown direction. Today that Consultative Council already forms a permanent element of the political life of Poland.

Well, I am talking in this manner quite simply because as I observe the action of our team—of which, if it is a question of the Politburo, I have been a member for only half a year—I perceive here a certain consistent line. It derives from the conviction, an established conviction, that very many things must be changed in Polish socialism, so that it can regain its values and become a modern system. I am talking about this because you asked a question on the definition of real socialism. Well, I think that certain matters should be explained: namely, systems, which before they shape themselves pass through very various phases. I also place real socialism in a certain phase of the development of the socialist formation, which is something broader than real socialism.

[Speaker] Agree...

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] As an historian or a sociologist I could agree with this.

[Rakowski] Good.

[Speaker] But at the same time there is also the so-called normal citizen who has the prospect of not so many hundred years but, let us say, 60 or 70, and he is assessing the development of events in Poland, especially in the econmic sphere. Because, as I say, that is the overwhelming group which is equated with social awareness, quite simply. Well, he says it is happening too slowly.

Apart from this, he is constantly saying that we seem to be touching up the old, instead of deciding upon a certain historic, really courageous step. That is why I asked you, sir, whether the participants of the roundtable would be addressing all those sitting there to an equal degree. They know the true needs of society. But I think this impatient society and particularly the younger generation—they constitute more than 50 percent of adult society at present—they understand the word socialism in a completely different way. They often make use of socialist values without saying the word, since the word for them has depreciated over these 19,20,or 20 or so years, because they only remember the consciousness of crises or of certain situations which have had an unfavorable influence on their personal fate.

[Rakowski] Agreed, but what I am getting at...[changes thought] That means, referring to what you said, sir, it must be stated that really very many people living today are not interested in the historical perspective or in reasoning in categories put forward by history. They say, as you put it, sir, that, well, good, it is possible that it has to be this way, that history selects such a rhythm, but I have only one life and I want to live that life splendidly, or as comfortably and as favorably for me as possible. It is true, except that it is a discrepancy that cannot, in essence, be removed. That is the first point. The second point: Those bold steps about which you speak, sir, are made by people and not by some external or superhuman force. If our discussion or our observations were to be introduced onto the Polish plane, it is clear that, for example in Poland, opponents of economic reform do not, generally, exist.

On the other hand in practice we know that opponents exist. Now, do they form some definite group, faction, some political party? No. Simply, the opponent is man, with his habits. Now, please tell me whether referring only to economic laws, or courageous steps is the only chance for this courageous step [as heard]. No, one can take many courageous steps. Let us say that you are in my place as a member of the leadership, and you choose a very courageous step. You almost force this very courageous step on your colleagues or friends who are, for example, members of the Politbureau. Is this the end? No. Simply, I would like to say that one can speed up events, one can speed up social movements, but only within certain limits.

Hence, I am a supporter of very courageous steps indeed, and modern ones. But I also see numerous barriers which appear when something is being done. Obviously one can say: In the past 7 years did courageous steps always mark the rhythm of your activity, party, government? Naturally I say no; there were courageous and not so courageous steps. Now I answer the question: What does the community expect? This is the essential question. I think that perhaps here I am making an error, but, based on opinion polls carried out by Kwiatkowski and other establishments, we know that the community is mainly interested in the improvement of material conditions. Perhaps this should be widened, and we should say that the community wishes that in everyday life there was no anguish.

Now we should ask the question. We even conduct research, but we still have no answer to it, to what degree is the community interested in the roundtable? Because if we look at all results of poll research we come to the conclusion that the number of people in Poland today interested in politics, political life, is very small. If we place this roundtable in the formula of political life we should inquire—but, I repeat, we still do not know—to what degree this is a general demand. Because you know, gentlemen—you are journalists—one can create the impression with the help of several articles or commentaries, that all are waiting for the roundtable.

It is, like I read in the article by Paszynski in "TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY", where he writes that we have a situation now where, on one side, there are the unfortunate isolated authorities and, on the other, all of society. Where did he get that from? Well, he got it from a way of writing, of evaluating phenomena.

[Speaker] I would not like you to evade the question asked earlier: Will we be trying in the immediate future, if a roundtable meeting comes about, to come up with a new political model for Poland?

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] What are the limits of the search? What is the freedom of search, from your point of view?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to say that we have today, lying on the table, a precisely worked out model for a new political system. It was sketched out at the eighth plenum and the second chamber in the parliament, by the Senate probably [words indistinct] a very interesting inovation in our system, the office of president. Of course, a different division of mandates in the Sejm. These are elements of that political model, point one. Point two: Where is the limit? I will answer you—as a member of the ruling party and a person interested for decades in socialism being the form that, on Polish soil, will last and develop—that the limit is the interests of socialism. You will immediately pick up on that and ask: What are the interests of socialism? Will you not? Go ahead.

[Speaker] That is not an open answer to the question, that for the (?politician) here and now, they should be Poland's interests. [words indistinct] the identity of those interests.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] But for me at least, on the issue of political limits, a key issue—and this is an inviolable limit—is the issue of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] Also the question of a presence on this side of the bench, so to speak, in this group of states, in the sense of military and political alliances and links. Here I see a certain constitutional role for the party that you are a member of. On the other hand, it is no longer the interest of this country, for example, to maintain [words indistinct] a different division of mandates in the Sejm. Mechanisms of political security should be created, in the internal conception, so that there is no more talk about division, about creating a division. The division will be carried out by choice.

And, for example, should the new or reformed political system that will be created not, as I think—and this interests me particularly—take into account three issues, which are quite loudly being articulated now, especially by young people. The first thing they say is: self-determination is needed. That means the possibility of influencing one's own individual or group fate.

[Rakowski] Competition is necessary because it is maintained that in this competition new and better values are born. And social security is necessary, so that if something does not work out in life then one can stand on one's own feet and live in a dignified way.

[Speaker] Do you agree with what one of my colleagues said, that socialism forms our alliances, and another added that it is also a guarantee of social security?

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] [Words indistinct] our alliances.

[Rakowski] That is an absolutely basic thing. The rest is to be agreed on, negotiated, and chosen in Poland.

[Speaker] I think that it [words indistinct].

[Rakowski] Not everyone, as there are opposition groups negating that also. But I think the vast majority of even the opposition agrees with this. Thus, I naturally accede that the idea that those are Polish interests is right. I would add, as one who is involved on the side of socialism, the question: Who can ensure those interests? For example, I consider that the greatest achievement of Poland is the establishment of friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Even more succinctly, it is the creation of

a situation in which for more than 40 years—and for the first time in several hundred years—on the Polish-Russian border, or the Polish-Soviet, whatever you like to call it, no fires of concern are burning. That is the historical success and historical service, and I believe that the PZPR or the Polish left, the radical Polish left has the duty here to protect that in the interest of Poland.

Now, one should also admit as right, and recognize as a component of socialism, as it should be in the minds of many people, those three characteristics, those three demands which as you said, are put forward by young people. Self-determination, competition, and social security are necessary. I agree; all three demands and the political mechanisms are all really something that can be agreed on. Why? Because for me there is not the slightest doubt that we as a nation, as a formation, as an ideological political formation, have really entered into a completely new period characterized by the fact that many, many such indisputable rights in our minds, or ideas of my generation on socialism have lost their raison d'etre. It is not that they have collapsed, since they even had a kind of positive role in a certain period, one of transmission.

[Speaker] Function in relation to the goal?

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] They are ceasing to be.

[Rakowski] They are ceasing to be such, but if that is a reason to be unhappy and for that ideological group with that doctrinal orientation to go to Canossa? No. That is the course of history. We are looking for new solutions; moreover, I think there is no such theorist, and no such ideologue today that is capable of saying how the model of socialism, which is also acceptable to young Poles, is going to look in the coming 5 to 10 years.

I absolutely agree that it is all in our hands. Of course, when I say "our" some of my opponents can say straight away: Aha! So you still want to have that unlimited power you had in past years. Well, I think such suspicion is wrong. Why? Because my political or ideological formation is trying—I stress, trying, but people are different, after all—to draw conclusions from what has been done in Poland in the past decade or so. And there is no doubt that the PZPR as a political party must, is under the obligation to, really create the lineup of forces; it must create conditions for the country's development in which the people will also influence the formulation of ad hoc or long-term goals, to be met by social policy and in every other sector. And this influence—I repeat, influence—must extend to those who do not recognize the PZPR's orientation and who cannot, under any circumstances, be denied the right to think in terms of Poland's interests.

[Speaker] I have private—if I may put it like that—expectations of the roundtable and I would like to compare them with yours. The first problem is the problem of the government (?in Poland). In the immediate term, the problem is that there is a government that is universally criticized, in an atmosphere of downright hysteria, however you see it. But that is not the point. The government, in my view, is not capable at the moment of exerting administrative power reliably. There is an atmosphere of hysteria coming from different directions. For the good of the cause, if one can put it like that, this government should stand. The only question is: Is this to be done again in an atmosphere of hysteria, or should this be done in a functional way for the existence of the state over the coming months?

[Rakowski] I see.

[Speaker] Point two is precisely the roundtable. The key problem with the economic reform in Poland now is the problem, first, of maximum political support or support from the political system—broadly conceived, from the traditional line-up of two allied parties and one party, via all other groups, dependent or independent, and so on—maximum and full support for a certain, specific program of economic reform, and relatively large public support. I think the government—no government, which would at this moment like to introduce really radical reforms, will get a real majority of support from the society for practical measures.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Speaker] In view of all this it seems to me that the economic situation is becoming sufficiently dramatic to include in the roundtable negotiation for the existence, or setting up of a government that will transcend parties, a government of experts, not a political government. There are voices calling for a political government where keys will be changed somewhat, and a few people from independent circles will be included. I maintain that this would bring political disputes into the government forum, while the government would be called on to implement a concrete program.

[Rakowski] I do not wish to say what the government should be like because I hear things from various sides. Some say it should be above party; others say it should be composed of experts, authors [as heard], political coalition, and so on. In fact, it is also a positive sign that there are various views, but what will transpire from these views is difficult for me to say today. As far as the community's attitude toward economic reform is concerned, and more precisely the change in attitude responsible for the economy's reformation—not only the traditional forces, but also various other [word indistinct].

[Speaker] I agree. This is only a temporary measure because the problem of democratic elections arises, democratically elected government, and soon. [words indistinct] There are examples of countries in similar

situations, that are in crisis and unable to cope. They conclude so-called pacts of economic solidarity, which include a government, trade unions, and all social forces that matter. Naturally, in our case it would be the best solution if such a solidarity pact could be signed. But there is a question: Where are the sides of the pact? This is a deliberate question, because such questions appeared in the discussion on the IMF. They say, all right, we can agree with you on a program for which we will supply some credits, but who will guarantee that during that period there will be no strikes? Who will sign this?

[Rakowski] Maybe we committed a certain mistake, counting on mass support for the economic reform under conditions of lowering the standard of living. Please remember that we started this reform at the beginning of (?1982) with a large drop in the standard of living. To count at this time on mass support for actions that were to lead to an even more complicated and more difficult situation for many producers involved, it seems to me, a certain naivety, putting it delicately. Yes? Now, I—well, perhaps I am wrong—but I think that social support for the reform may only come from direct producers if they perceive advantages in this reform. However, I have definite doubts about the possibilities of gaining social support, although I favor and advocate expanding the base of social trust, of participation of various orientations for influencing the state. But I have doubts about what the real influence will be.

[Speaker] I think we are not aware that there now exists a certain chance for the economic reform to gain social support. Such a litmus test and, at the same time, a catalyst for certain social activity in this sphere is the law on enterprises. But the following is being said: If this law on enterprises is to constitute 30 pages, written in very complicated language; if a series of executive orders is added to this, formulated by the government, which apart form this is completely opaque, and, at the same time giving the state administration the possibility for interference, then of course it will not [word indistinct] and will not release the expected [word indistinct].

[Rakowski] When the first draft of this law on enterprises was presented, someone brought me the law [words indistinct] from 1946 concerning private activity, in private industry. Well, that whole law, at the time...

[Speaker, interrupting] Was one page long?

[Rakowski] No, it was half a page. There were simply five paragraphs. Well, we have gathered so far from the legal point of view that every such law that appears today is a collection of an enormous number of paragraphs, after which must also be added executive orders that may, if someone wants, dissolve even the very best paragraphs.

I agree with this. I am frankly pleased that you said this, because I think it is possible to remove many barriers that are truly hampering economic development through the changed nature of management, which also expresses itself in all these legal acts. I have such a hobbyhorse, which I am always mounting. I mounted him for the first time in 1971, being the co-author of a book called "The Polish Number One Problem," where I raised the point that a system that does not create conditions for initiative by the individual cannot win the competition with another system. After all, it cannot create conditions that satisfy people. Well, forgive us but we are discussing to this day what conditions should exist or be created. Only, who does all this? Is this done only by a narrow group of people? A question may be asked: Why have the lawyers trained themselves in such great laws? Well, unfortunately, we must finish our conversation here, because I think a very interesting subject is that of the bureaucratism of our social and economic system—bureaucratism understood not as the multiplication of offices but as a system of management and rule. This is because the realization, for example, in the battle against bureaucratism of the cutting of posts—although there are a few too many in various [word indistinct] this is definitely a positive and needed task. But this does not eliminate bureaucratism as a certain formation, in essence. Gentlemen, that is the end of our interview.

[Speaker] Numerous subjects and questions remain.

[Rakowski] But I am personally glad that we had this conversation and we will try to continue it, okay?

[Speaker] [Words indistinct].

[Rakowski] In the old circle. [end recording]

Church Still Favors Trade Union Pluralism

LD1609133188 Hamburg DPA in German 1048 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] (DPA)—The Catholic Church in Poland continues to be in favor of trade union pluralism. In an interview with DPA Episcopate Spokesman Alojzy Orszulik said on Friday with reference to the forthcoming roundtable talks that the position of the church has not altered. Trade union pluralism is necessary and the workers must have the right to organize themselves in trade unions which they want.

Orszulik, who is taking part as a church representative in the preliminary talks for the roundtable, added that he personally hopes "that the political leadership realizes that an understanding and the envisaged reforms can be achieved only if a scope for action—and thus also a place for Solidarity—is created for the millions of workers who do not belong to the party trade unions."

A round of talks, in which representatives of the official trade unions are to take part for the first time, is planned for this afternoon in Warsaw. Lech Walesa has already spoken on two occasions with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak in the presence of a church representative and an adviser. He addressed the problem of repressions

against strikers. Orszulik said in this connection that solutions have been found. He hoped that the problem will thus no longer burden the talks.

Poznan TU Chairman Discusses Unions' Role

PM1509110388 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27-28 Aug 88 p 3

[Interview with Wojciech Kaczmarek, chairman of the Poznan Voivodship Trade Union Alliance (WPZZ), by Andrzej Luczak; date, place not given]

[Text] [Luczak] Trade union assessments of the current social and economic situation in the country contain many negative points. What is the condition of the union movement itself?

[Kaczmarek] During the 2 years which have passed since the union congress, the union movement has certainly become more firmly established in its structures, its declared areas of interest, and its forms of action, although a definitive appraisal of the past year will only be made by the delegates to the national meeting due to take place in November. I expect that their assessment will not be unequivocally positive. This is because we are dealing with a very complex social and economic situation, as the example of recent days very clearly demonstrated. For that matter, nothing much has changed in that situation for a considerable time.

Given these circumstances, the implementation of every single resolution and proposal passed by the congress has met with enormous difficulties. We must not forget this when we try to form an objective assessment of the condition of the trade union movement.

Our situation was probably best described in that part of the premier's congress address in which, in reply to union demands for more homes to be built, he said that this could indeed be done straight away provided that we decide not to build a proportion of the planned number of schools or kindergarten facilities... This is the classic situation of having to rob Peter to pay Paul, and we find ourselves in it, too.

Consequently, I think that there is good sense in the proposal submitted at the latest meeting of the WPZZ Executive Committee. It advocates the selection of only several or, at the most, a dozen or so recommendations and proposals of crucial social significance from the vast number of recommendations and proposals passed at the congress. The OPZZ [All-Polish Alliance of Trade Unions] would press for the implementation of those select proposals, offering its own suggested solutions and accepting joint responsibility for their realization. This could contribute to the further reinforcement of the position and authority of the trade union movement.

Our own, internal assessment of the condition of our movement is important, but we cannot remain indifferent to the light in which the effectiveness of our activity is seen by those outside the trade unions. I am well aware that their opinions are varied.

[Luczak] That means that some of them are negative...

[Kaczmarek] Opinions unfavorable to the trade union movement are based chiefly on the charge that the work of the OPZZ and the individual national trade union organizations is largely ineffective. One even hears the opinion that the OPZZ ought to be providing the motive power for protests and unrest because strikes are the only method leading to effective realization of trade union demands. This, as many people claim, we have learned through our past experience.

Such conclusions could indeed be formed on the basis of certain past examples. Even if there are only a few of those, they have already caused definite moral damage. This happened because protests have not been acted upon, nor even listened to particularly carefully, and sometimes the voice of the trade unions was outright ignored. That, however, does not alter the fact that a confirmed majority of trade union cells regard strikes as an extreme solution which should be avoided as long as possible.

[Luczak] What do you mean by "as long as possible"? Does the trade unio movement have reliable information on the condition and the endurance potential of the population?

[Kaczmarek] By virtue of their function and, even more importantly, the mass nature of their membership, the trade unions are certainly well aware of the moods prevailing among work forces and throughout society in general. After all, the trade union movement embraces more than half of the employed work force, and activists in its primary structures are in continuous daily contact with all the employees. Consequently, it is highly unlikely for chairmen of enterprise trade union organizations to be unaware of the problems raised by their work forces, or of the moods prevailing in the enterprise.

In addition, "as long as possible" means that before any extreme steps are taken we should first exhaust all the existing possibilities of resolving the dispute. This is because knowledge of the prevailing social moods should not constitute an end in itself for the union movement. It must serve as an aid in mapping out the course and the forms of action the movement decides to take.

[Luczak] Let us reverse my last question. You said that trade unionists have full information on the condition of our society. But do work forces know what the union movement actually does, what it concerns itself with?

[Kaczmarek] I do not believe they always do. It sometimes happens that information on the work of the enterprise organization, or the national structures of the trade union movement is scarce and incomplete. On the other hand, some people are unwilling to acknowledge information about concrete union activity or they may actually pretend nor to take any note of it.

During one of the recent strikes, a demand for a change in the existing system of age and disability pensions was placed on the list—the very short list—of economic demands put forward by the strikers. This was some 2 weeks after reports on a far-reaching and comprehensive project for amending the pension system, prepared by the OPZZ, were published and displayed on trade union information boards.

All that does not alter the fact that the propaganda mechanism concerned with both internal and external publicity highlighting trade union work is in constant need of improvement.

[Luczak] Nevertheless, it seems that the popular image of the trade union movement is created by the public perception of the effectiveness of its activity. Does that effectiveness depend on the trade unionists alone?

[Kaczmarek] If I answered your question with an emphatic "No, it does not," I could be accused of trying to excuse all our shortcomings at all costs. But the truth of the matter is that the trade union movement can only answer for the effectiveness of its activity up to a certain point. After all, has it not often been the case that the problems raised by us were not treated seriously enough? There were also many situations when they were simply ignored even though they concerned wider social problems rather than individual cases.

We want to be listened to carefully—I believe we must be listened to carefully by the administration at all its levels if we wish to prevent further social unrest. A sense of realism dictates that we should keep an objective perspective because not every problem can be instantly resolved. Nor do I believe that each demand put forward by the trade unions must be met. But none should be ignored because their eventual consequences rebound not only on us...

[Luczak] Thank you for the interview.

Witnesses to Militia Officer's Death Quoted

AU1509144688 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Sep 88 p 3

[Wojciech Markiewicz report: "The Shot"]

[Excerpts] As the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs said on 1 September, a militia officer, who was on duty at the Stalowa Wola foundry, was shot in the head on 31 August, the next to last day of the strike. The badly wounded officer was taken to hospital, where he died on 1 September. [passage omitted]

On 31 August, Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz, who was ordered to do patrol duty in the Stalowa Wola foundry, left Tarnobrzeg, presumably by bus. At 1810 he reported to the head of the Regional Internal Affairs Office in Stalowa Wola, who ordered him to join a militia patrol in the foundry and stay with it till 2200.

At 1810 [figures as pub[illegible]shed] M. Turbakiewicz left that office. At 2050 a shot rang out. I was unable to establish what the officer did in the meantime.

Stanislaw Tkacz, 45, an engine driver in the railroad transportation section:

"On 31 August at about 2100 Wieslaw Olszewski, Piotr Kulasza, and I were walking toward gate three when we noticed a man without an armband. I asked him to show his permit, but he refused. We asked him to go with us to gate three for identification. He agreed, and Ostrowski and I took him by the arms. After some 12 meters or so, the man suddenly took a pistol out of his breast pocket and shot himself in the head. We recoiled from him, and I called for an ambulance" [passage omitted]

In the morning of the same day five militia functionaries on patrol duty were asked to leave the grounds of the foundry. Two of them were carted out on battery trolleys and, as the local paper NOWINY reported on 2 September, this expulsion took place "to the accompaniment of wild shouting, whistling, and applause. Shouts could heard of 'take them to the bunker,' 'you work in the same muck as the Security Service,' and 'strike them a few blows so they get to know our fists.'"

However, strikers insist that no militia functionary that was asked to leave the foundry "was in any way beaten up or manhandled. In the worst event, they might have been verbally cautioned."

S. Tkacz: That officer was sober. I would have smelled alcohol, because I was close to him. He was polite, and I am surprised he committed such stupidity. [passage omitted]

P. Kulasza, 28, an engine driver's assistant: We stopped about 40-50 meters away from gate three. Despite the late hour, there was plenty of light from burning lamps. People were milling around. I walked behind that officer, and after we had walked 15-20 meters, I heard a shot and

the officer fell to the ground. There was no scuffle. Industrial guards, civil defense, and other officials were there. They would have seen a scuffle.

W. Olszewski, 25, engine driver: I was 5 meters ahead of the party. Tkacz and the other guy were taking the officer to the gate. When he had walked about 10-12 meters, I saw him push my colleagues aside, reach for his breast pocket, and fire a shot. He fell on his face, and blood began forming a pool. His pistol was lying by him.

Other witnesses described the shooting in similar terms. [passage omitted]

The forensic examination ended with this statement: "Bloodshot muscles indicate that heavy blows could have been dealt."

Colonel Wystepek, Lt Turbakiewicz's immediate superior: "Suicide? I cannot believe it. He served in the navy, began working in our ministry from scratch, and worked on economic crimes before he joined my department. He was ambitious and conscientious, but quite severe. At party meetings he always told the truth. I would have never suspected him of any suicidal thoughts."

If he did not kill himself, an anonymous worker told me, then he was slain or died by accident. Probably no one killed him, because so many people were around. Perhaps there was a scuffle, he wanted to fire a warning shot, and someone knocked up his arm. Stalowa Wola is full of such theories and rumors. Captain Filipiuk arrived on the scene 10 minutes after the shooting: What surprised me most was the people's reaction. Normally, people volunteer spontaneous information and outdo each other in talking. But this time they were all silent. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Zachariasz, voivodship prosecutor in Tarnobrzeg: Investigations have just started, and because of them we cannot disclose the evidence of witnesses or the results of the post mortem examination on 3-4 September. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Addresses Successful Farmers

AU1409111188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Sep 88 p 1

[Report on speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and State Council chairman, at an awards ceremony for outstanding farmers at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 11 September]

[Text] Congratulating the meritorious farmers, Jaruzelski said that they have distinguished themselves by their above-average work and its results. The awards, he said, are well-deserved, just as the respect earned by farmers during this difficult period is well-deserved.

There are certain sacred, eternal matters like Poland, our land, and Polish agriculture, Jaruzelski continued. They also include your farms, which feed the nation. A farmer does not strike, not even when he experiences problems and difficulties, not even when he has the right to believe that his effort is not fully appreciated. He is mindful of this service to Polish soil and the Polish people.

I particularly want to thank you for the reliability of Polish rural areas during the present time, for the fact that Polish rural areas have not failed us and never will fail us, and for the fact that your work has provided and will continue to provide our people with bread. More and more bread.

Polish rural areas have not only changed materially. The people there have also changed. They have new aspirations and new qualifications for running farms. This is our great achievement, an achievement of People's Poland. Before the war, experts on rural matters used to discuss whether there were 3 million or 5 million superfluous workers in rural areas. Today, the situation is completely different. In a short period of time, People's Poland has given rural inhabitants material and social advancement. Although things are difficult, let us be convinced that the road we have traveled is nothing to be ashamed of. Past achievements, especially during the last few years; the standard of Polish agriculture; the equality of all agricultural sectors—all this constitutes major progress by Polish rural areas. Cooperation between rural people belonging to the PZPR, SD, and various kinds of organizations, especially agricultural circles, is improving constantly. A great family is taking shape, consisting of political and social forces who understand each other and are proceeding in the same direction, and who will not let their calm, daily work be disrupted.

Jaruzelski thanked the farmers present and through them all Polish farmers, and wished them all the best and good crops in 1989.

UK's Lord Newall Received by Ceausescu

AU1609184388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/9/1988—On Friday, 16 September President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Lord Francis Newall, member of Defence Affairs Commission of the House of Lords of the British Parliament, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, now in Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

During the talk stress was laid on the cooperative ties established and developing between Romania and Great Britain on the basis of fully equal rights and mutual advantage. Emphasis was also placed on the possibilities of broadening bilateral cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other areas for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and worldwide.

Meets Defense Minister Milea

AU1709143088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1437 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/9/1988—During his visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly, Lord Francis Newall, member of the Defence Commission of the House of Lords of the Great Britain Parliament, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, had interviews with Gen.-Col. Vasile Milea, minister of national defence, as well as at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and at Maramures County People's Council. The guest also visited units of economic and social-cultural interest in Bucharest and in Constanta, Tulcea and Maramures counties.

LUMEA Review of All-European Conference Cited

AU1609172888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1611 GMT 16 Sep 88

["The All-European Meeting Resumes Its Work—The Demands for a Substantive and Balanced Final Document"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/16/1988—Under the above heading, "LUMEA" magazine carries an article in its latest issue that marks the opening of the Vienna meeting's seventh round of talks, welcoming the statements of the participant countries to make further efforts in order to put the finishing touches to the final document of the meeting and conclude it as soon as possible.

Showing that most of the points of the final document of the meeting were virtually agreed upon, the weekly also calls attention on the fact that agreement on the final document as a whole had not been reached yet because of the attempts that some states make to impose on all other participant countries concepts and commitments that mark a departure from the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and of the Madrid document, that are inacceptable in both content and purpose, which prevents consensus.

For instance, it is impossible to understand why some states insist that the Vienna meeting's final document should include provisions that would lead to the proliferation of religious sects, the propagation of obscurantism, overlooking the assertion and development of the people's scientific convictions on the world and life. Neither in the Helsinki Final Act nor in the Madrid document nor in any other international political or juridical instrument is the freedom of thought or of conscience simplistically and arbitrarily limited to a division of people into believers and non-believers. In the conditions of the contemporary technical - scientific revolution, and given the current development stage of society the fact that all countries participating in the meeting have specific regulations in the sphere of religious life, it appears that the repetition or detailed listing in the final document of the Vienna forum of existing regulations, or the formulation of others that are the exclusive competence of each state or of the religious denominations in one country is not only superfluous, but downright inopportune.

The Romanian state has created every condition for the church, for religious denominations to unfold an unrestricted activity on the basis of their statute, for both religious convictions and beliefs to be freely exercised. Such conditions are ensured and guaranteed by the Constitution, by other appropriate laws, and the state assists the fourteen denominations in Romania to carry on their activity. Religious denominations participate, in adequate forms, in this country's sociocultural activity, their representatives being elected to parliament or to other social bodies.

Romania holds the view that in the current stage the states should try hard and cooperate to put the conditions in place for the moulding and development of consciousness on the basis of the latest gains of science and technology, for the broad dissemination of knowledge in this area, and for all citizens, especially the youth to have access to scientific values, to the national culture and the cultures of other countries, for the simulation of their creative capacity in all areas.

Given this necessity and with a view to a balanced reflection in the final document of the positions and conceptions of all participant states on the freedom of thought, of conscience, of belief and of religion, the Romanian delegation proposed, upon the resumption of the Vienna meeting, that the participant states commit themselves to supporting and encouraging the activity for the improvement of the scientific and cultural knowledge of people, and especially of youth, in the spirit of the principles of humanism, friendliness, peace and concord among people. Romania suggested that the final document should stipulate that the thirty-five countries

would create the conditions for the founding of houses of culture and science, science libraries, culture-science centres or clubs in towns and villages, in big enterprises and institutions, which should implement scientific education programmes and sponsor cultural activities. The respective states would also have to pledge that they would create the requisite conditions for the trade unions, scientific societies, houses of culture and science to unfold activities apt to contribute to the moulding of people's scientific beliefs on the basis of the latest gains of contemporary science, to educating them in the spirit of respect for the material and cultural values of other peoples. Also to be encouraged are be the contacts and exchange of experience in the areas of science, arts and culture, and support should be granted to printing and disseminating scientific works apt to help the better knowledge and understanding of natural and social phenomena.

Only by including suchlike pledges relative to the humanitarian aspects of European collaboration will the content of the final document of the Vienna meeting be balanced, and meet with consensus. The attempts not to take into consideration, ignore or minimize the standpoints, the positions of any one of the thirty-five countries represented at the meeting, the attempts to intimidate, to put pressures are not only unwelcome in the process of security-building and cooperation in Europe, but also contrary to the Helsinki spirit, to the Final Act provisions, to the norms and rules governing this process.

Putting forth a new proposal apt to help work out a substantive and balanced final document of the Vienna meeting, the Romanian delegation stated that Romania was ready to negotiate, together with the other participant countries, on equal terms, formulae and texts that are generally acceptable conducive to understandings and accords on all the issues addressed by the meeting. At a time when public opinion and the European peoples expect the Vienna forum to conclude as soon as possible with concrete results that can help build up confidence and security, and lead to the development of cooperation among all European countries, Romania understands to make fresh efforts, to seek, and find, together with the other participant states, the best solutions to the issues facing our continent at present. At the same time Romania considers that it is entitled to expect its partners to show the same readiness, comprehension and good-will it itself promotes and displays in the European dialogue.

Leaders' 11-17 Sep Public Appearances Reported

AU1709180288 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 11-17 September period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 14 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu began a working visit to Timis County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1725 GMT 14 Sep 88) The same day they met with the Timis County Party Bureau (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 14 Sep 88) and visited farm units in Timis County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 14 Sep 88)

On 15 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited an industrial school in Timisoara. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0740 GMT 15 Sep 88) The same day, Ceausescu addressed a mass rally in Timisoara upon the opening of the academic year (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0825 GMT 15 Sep 88) and returned to Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1558 GMT 15 Sep 88)

On 16 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu received British MP Lord Newall. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 16 Sep 88)

On 17 September, Defense Minister Colonel General Vasile Milea met with British MP Lord Newall. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1437 GMT 17 Sep 88)

On 12 September, PEC member Gheorghe Oprea; RCP Central Committee Secretary Vasile Barbulescu; Nicolae Mihai, deputy head of an RCP Central Committee section; and Deputy Foreign Minister Olimpia Solomonescu offered condolences at the GDR Embassy upon the death of Werner Felfe. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1246 GMT 12 Sep 88)

On 13 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu received the outgoing Austrian ambassador. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1517 GMT 12 Sep 88) The same day, Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1700 GMT 13 Sep 88; Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 13 Sep 88; and Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 13 Sep 88)

On 11 September, PEC member Constantin Dascalescu addressed a friendship meeting in Pyongyang. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1513 GMT 11 Sep 88)

On 12 September, Nicolae Giosan, PEC candidate member, met with British MP Newall. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 12 Sep 88)

On 12 September, Cornel Pacoste, PEC candidate member, attended a meeting marking Firemen's Day. (Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 88 p 3)

On 12 September, Foreign Trade Minister Ioan Ungur was received by the SRFY's Raif Dizdarevic (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 12 Sep 88) and on the following day he met with SFRY officials in Zagreb. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1516 GMT 13 Sep 88)

Mikulic Addresses Internal Affairs Unit

LD1609192588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—We come here to greet you and thank you for excellently executing the task with which the SFRY Presidency entrusted you, said FEC President Branko Mikulic, addressing today the members of the collective unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SSIP] which is located in Ajvalija near Pristina.

Branko Mikulic visited the camp of the members of the collective unit together with Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the FEC; and Desimir Jevtic and Nazmi Mustafa, presidents of the executive councils of Serbia and Kosovo. The high-ranking officials of the federation, Serbia, and the province [Kosovo] were greeted at the entrance to the camp by unit commander Momcilo Debeljkovic. Speaking to the unit members, Branko Mikulic emphasized that the SSIP in cooperation with the republican and provincial secretariats had analyzed the unit's performance so far and assessed it very positively. Positive assessments were also made by the SFRY Presidency and the FEC.

Speaking further on the implementation of tasks, continued Mikulic, and in keeping with the current situation in Kosovo, we have decided that from now on the unit should not be stationed just in one place as a relatively large formation, but in the future it should be involved in the direct protection of personal freedoms and property of citizens in Kosovo. For this reason a decision has been reached whereby the unit will in the future be stationed at 22 locations in the province. This is in keeping with our efforts and resolve in the future to become more directly involved in the elimination of all the phenomena of harassment of citizens, as well as of all forms of violence and attacks on people's property.

Branko Mikulic went on to express conviction that the collective unit would successfully carry out this new duty just as before and that this new aspect of its commitment would in a relatively short time manage to prevent all forms of violence and ensure peace and tranquility for all citizens of Kosovo, above all Serbs and Montenegrins, who are increasingly becoming the target of the activity of Albanian nationalists and chauvinists.

Proceeding from serious disturbances in the political-security situation in Kosovo we have reached a decision, said Mikulic, not only to station the unit at 22 locations, but also, if need be, to expand it both in members and financial and technical means. It is obvious that threats to human freedom and increasingly frequent forms of violation of human dignity and freedom and threats to property of citizens not only have developed into a serious violation of intranational relations in Kosovo, but also contribute to destabilizing political events in the country.

For this reason we have decided to put an end to this evil and to make use of all means at our disposal for this purpose, in keeping with the Constitution and law. We have decided to stop the evil we have been faced with for a long time now, stressed Mikulic, adding that a failure to do so has caused a great deal of political impatience and dissatisfaction not only among the citizens in Kosovo but also throughout the country.

In the conclusion of his speech to the collective unit members, the FEC president noted that every civilized society and every democratic state in the world is duty-bound to ensure a peaceful and tranquil life for its subjects and secure their democratic freedoms. We, too, shall do this; we are also duty-bound to do it for the sake of defending the gains of the revolution, to create conditions for the undisturbed development of our society, following Tito's course.

The high-ranking guests from the federation, Serbia, and the province toured the camp in which the unit is stationed and were briefed during talks with its officers on a series of ogranizational and technical details concerning its present and future functioning.

The visit of Branko Mikulic and other eminent officials to Ajvalija is a component part of the rich program of their 1-day visit to Kosovo. Within this program Branko Mikulic, Milos Milosavljevic, and Desimir Jevtic toured the shock absorbers factory in Pristina this morning and had talks with the leadership of the collective. Dobroslav Culafic had talks with the leaders of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs, while Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary for finance, and his aides met the top people from the provincial secretariat for finance. Petar Vajovic, federal secretary for justice, had talks with his hosts in the assembly of the Pristina municipality and the Kosovo supreme court.

During talks in the shock absorbers factory Branko Mikulic drew attention, among other things, to the importance of maintaining good relations in this multinational working environment and said that the practice in this factory indicates a possibility of joint life in brotherhood and understanding; this is the only way to future.

This afternoon we will discuss in the Executive Council the political and security situation, added Mikulic, but I would like to mention the execptional importance of the working class of Kosovo carrying out this struggle for brotherhood and unity. "Where people live together and associate among themselves, belonging to different nations and nationalities is less important than friendship and solidarity. This is why it is important to transfer these good relations from factories to villages, local communities, and houses, instead of the other way round—allowing negative tendencies to spread over to you from the outside and reflect on your relations." [passage omitted]

Replying to the questions of his hosts—what to do when they cannot even provide apartments for those who would possibly return [to Kosovo], top experts; five or six such people have left the factory—Branko Mikulic said that this had been covered on 12 September at the FEC session within the discussion of the implementation of the Yugoslav program. It was decided on that occasion to establish criteria in conjunction with the Serbian and Kosovo executive councils for resolving the housing issue for the cadres they are short of and for those who wish to return and to whom this question applies.

Without this help we in the factory are unable to implement the tasks and ensure the return of Serbian and Montenegrin cadres, was the message of the representatives of this working collective.

Early this afternoon Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, and Desimir Jevtic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, and their aides had talks with Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo presidency, on the overall current political and economic situation in the province. They were reported to have noted that the overall political and security situation in the province is very complex, first of all because of the continual activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, but also other nationalists. For the sake of further stabilizing the political-security situation, it is necessary for state organs at all levels to take further vigorous and resolute measures to consistently implement the conclusions and stands of the 9th and 16th LCY Central Committee sessions.

There can be no prosperity, progress, or faster overall development of this province without the stabilization of the political situation. This is the summary of today's talks between FEC President Branko Mikulic, and his aides and representatives of the highest-ranking bodies, which were held in the Kosovo Executive Council. [passage omitted]

Dobrosav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs and FEC member, drew attention to the special responsibility of the security organs for the elimination of the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. He stressed that the protection of personal freedom and property security of Serbian and Montenegrin nationals is one of the central and priority issues at this moment and also in the immediate future. The fundamental task, specified Culafic, is the elimination of the activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists who have recently stepped up their actions.

Repeated attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is one of the forms of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian separatists aimed at the realization of their goal on the ethnically pure Kosovo. If the lives of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, and what is most valuable and sacred to them, are threatened we shall not spare any means to stop this. If, however, this continues and gains in intensity we will take radical actions, said Culafic, adding that one must count on this. He stressed that there can be no positive assessment of the overall work of the security organs, especially in Kosovo, as long as there are pressures on and lack of security of citizens in this province. The prevention of violence and terror over the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo, emphasized Culafic, is also a fundamental condition for the resolving of other problems and tasks. Success in this struggle depends to a large extent on the situation in the country and Yugoslavia's prestige in the world, but also on the consolidation of trust in the institutions of our political system. [passage omitted]

Recalling several meetings on the implementation of the political platform on Kosovo and tasks stemming from the Yugoslav program, measures, and activities to stem emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Branko Mikulic pointed out that it was noted at the time that the stabilization of the political-security situation in Kosovo "was blocked" not only by the difficult situation in the Kosovo economy and social activities, but primarily by the escalation of violence by Albanian national chauvinists and separatists who are sowing fear, hatred, and mistrust and causing in this way incalculable harm not only to the victims of the terror under direct threat but also to their own nationality and, in the final analysis, to the political stability of Yugoslavia.

This has been confirmed by the deteriorating political situation in Yugoslavia and by intranational relations, especially in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia, Mikulic went on to say. This is why we established as the priority task of the state organs that they should prevent any form of violence over the freedom of the people and their property and ensure constitutionality and legality. In this respect, the highest role and responsibility is attached to the security organs and the organs of the judiciary and the entire system of self-protection. The FEC believes, Mikulic added, that the organs whose immediate task is to protect those who are frightened and attacked and the like cannot justify their inadequate results in preventing violence by pleading a possible lack of appropriate and political action.

On the basis of the Constitution and the law and within the framework of their powers and authorities they must carry out their tasks in all conditions. Without doubt the work of the administration, judiciary, and the secretariat of internal affairs organs was much more prompt, but the assaults by national chauvanists draw attention to the fact that what has been done is not sufficient.

The degree to which the freedoms and rights of the citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nations in Kosovo are under a threat is such that it is unacceptable to say that unity is established with the violation of the public order and peace. Violence is committed against members of other nations and nationalities as well. Communists and all other patriots of Albanian nationality are also exposed to pressure and threats by Albanian national chauvinists. If all this were to go on there would be a real danger of intranational relations deteriorating

even further because activity and revenge-seeking. All other kinds of nationalism can be manifested in various forms and with even greater intensity. We have seen that this is the case.

Having spoken at length about the forthcoming state measures and especially about the new method of involvement by the combined detachment of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs, Branko Mikulic explained that the insistence on the measures taken by the state organs did not wish in any way to underrate the ideological and political action and its crucial and decisive significance in stabilizing the political and security situation in Kosovo Province.

On the contrary, Mikulic went on to say, awareness of the need for life together in brotherhood and on the basis of equality and awareness that we are duty-bound to guard what we have obtained during the armed revolution and post-war construction can be developed and strengthened only through persistent ideological, political, and education work. I will again repeat what I said here 1 and ½ years ago, which is that I am firmly convinced that in Kosovo, too, we must fight persistently to create joint institutions in which the people of all nationalities living here will be able to come together and behave like comrades and brothers. Let us set up joint creches, kindergartens, schools, faculties, joint cultural-educational and art societies, sports societies and clubs. Let us join in them, let us be friends resisting national isolation, separatism, and ghettos. Let cultural arts and sports societies, creches, kindergartens, and schools become societies and communities of unity, standard-bearers of the awareness that the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and other nations and nationalities in Kosovo will not have a better and more humane future other than by living together as good neighbors and brothers regardless of their religious and national membership and by fully respecting and understanding one another. Let us start in those environments where the people live in peace, in which nationalists have not managed to weaken intranational relations and harmony. As the late Reverend Mihajlo Smiljanic put it, "While honest Albanian, Serb, and Montenegrin women hold their children at their breast they should sing them songs of brotherhood and unity."

We heard in the shock-absorber factory today that the intranational relations there are good, recalled Mikulic. We were very pleased to hear that, but they are afraid that the bad situation in the workers area of living may be transferred to the work collective destabilizing the intranational relations in that factory, which are good. It is our objective that the good relations in the work collective and also the positive spirit of the working class should be transferred into the settlements and towns because we must also bear in mind that the working class can play an exceptionally great role and that it must be involved considerably more on this noble task.

Without that, not one nation or nationality in this or any other part of our country has any future. Otherwise, a reciprocal settling of old scores is threatened, after which those who survive such a settling of accounts will still have to find a solution for a life together on the basis of equality and reciprocal respect.

I am confident that the Communists and all patriotic forces of Kosovo will win the battle for brotherhood and unity and secure the right of their neighbors over a period of many centuries to live in peace and freedom. I am confident that a nation as proud as the Albanians will resolutely raise their voice of protest against the freaks within their own nation who are threatening basic human rights and freedoms of their own neighbors. I am confident that this will be done also by members of all other proud peoples in Kosovo. The SFRY is the country of Kosovo Albanians and all other Albanians in Yugoslavia. They live in it, and they have no other alternative but to share their future with their neighbors, Serbs, Montenegrins, and other inhabitants of Kosovo and Yugoslavia. Kosovo has been, is, and will be an integral part of Yugoslavia. If there is any one who has any illusions about reshaping Yugoslav borders, he is terribly mistaken. For this reason any conduct which overlooks these facts is illogical and harmful, especially for those who are not aware of it.

Yugoslavia is complying with the stance from the Helsinki CSCE Final Act that the borders in Europe are inviolable.

We believe this principle to be binding both for us and for our neighbors in relation to the existing borders established either by a peace treaty or by other internationally valid legal documents signed by the governments of Yugoslavia and her neighbors or signed by them together with the governments of some other countries.

The question of the borders between Yugoslavia and Albania, Mikulic went on to say, was definitely resolved on 26 June 1926 in Florence with the signing of a joint protocol by an international commission. As regards this issue there are absolutely no dilemmas or ambiguities for Yugoslavia.

As neighboring countries Yugoslavia and Albania are bound together not only by geographic; but also historic, cultural, and ethnic links over a period of many years. Since it has been inalterably ordained for us to be neighbors for all time, we should live as good neighbors and should make efforts to ensure international cooperation and that relations are promoted and expanded on the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and reciprocally useful cooperation. This cooperation is in our mutual interest and it is also in the interest of the strengthening of peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and further afield in Europe. For this reason the policy of double standards is

unacceptable. We resolutely reject any interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. If neighboring Albania truly wishes comprehensive cooperation and good-neighborly relations, Yugoslavia is ready to build bridges of cooperation. It is obvious that this cooperation can be implemented in our mutual interest on the basis of full equality and respect for soverignty and territorial integrity.

Yugoslavia wants comprehensive development, stability, and prosperity for Albania and is doing everything on its part and will continue to do everything which will contribute to greater and better understanding and equal cooperation between our two neighboring countries.

The complex economic and social-political situation in Yugoslavia gives rise, among other things, to world public attention for the situation in our country and also to the concern by our friends for the stability and unity of Yugoslavia. We ourselves assess our present situation as being very serious, added Mikulic.

This is why we involved ourselves on overcoming the causes of the crisis and its consequences by democratic means. To achieve this changes will be made this year in the SFRY Constitution and in our economic system, and we have also decided about reforming the LCY so as to make it capable of fulfilling its ideopolitical role in our society under new conditions.

Concluding his contribution to the meeting tonight, FEC President Branko Mikulic stressed that rapid and efficient removal of all forms of violence on the people, by surmounting the remaining differences in the nature and impact of constitutional changes, especially in the SR of Serbia, would essentially contribute to the establishment of the conditions for a complete stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and throughout the country. Without that we would not be able to carry out the economic reform either. In conclusion Mikulic announced that a meeting will be held in Pristina soon with the presidents of all republican and provincial executive councils on the development and economic problems of Kosovo to establish accurately how the republican environments and the province of Vojvodina are implementing their concrete tasks.

Demonstrations Continue Over Kosovo Issue

50,000 at Montenegro Meeting

LD1809144088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1251 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Summary] Niksic, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—More than 50,000 citizens from Niksic and other Montenegro municipalities, as well as from nearby areas of Hercegovina, and Kovoso, Vojvodina, Serbia, and other areas attended a solidarity meeting in Niksic today calling for a struggle against injustice and lack of freedom. The meeting's organizers were the people themselves and their organization, The Socialist Alliance, whose president, Rajko Andjelic, extended a warning to political and state organs and to society at large and called for speedy and radical action against Albanian nationalists and separatists so peace and safety can be ensured for Kosovo residents. Speakers at the meeting were frequently interrupted by slogans and cheers of approval, and participants could be seen carrying photographs of Tito, Njegos, Vuk, and Slobodan Milosevic.

30,000 at Meeting in Cetinje

LD1809144788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Cetinje, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—More than 30,000 citizens gathered today at a solidarity meeting in Cetinje to express solidarity with the justified demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo for a more rapid, more efficient, and more energetic eradication of counterrevolutionary activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists in that province.

The meeting was opened in the town square by Slobodan Djuric, president of the municipal SAWP conference. He stressed that the citizens of this town and the Montenegrin people, throughout their stormy and illustrious historical past, have always loathed all human injustice and violence and that now too they feel deeply for the troubles of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo who are seeking freedom in a free country.

The organizer of the solidarity meeting, attended by over 2,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, is the municipal SAWP conference of Cetinje.

1,500 at Karavukovo Rally

LD1709192388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Summary] Karavukovo, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—About 1,500 citizens and 60 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo gathered in Karavukovo today to express solidarity with their fellow nationals in Kosovo and to give support to their fight for freedom and equality for all people in this province. In a message that was sent from the meeting of the presidencies of Vojvodina and Serbia and the Central Committees of the LCY and Serbian LC, as well as the Provincial Committees, demands were set forth for the condemnation of attacks on Tito, for the creation of conditions for the return of those who emigrated, for the ideopolitical differentiation in the LC, and for the establishment of responsibility of all Kosovo and Vojvodina leaders who have so far been called to account. At the end of the meeting the organizational committee president from Karavukovo told the participants that workers from Majevica in Backa Palanka were also among them and that they would hold a meeting next Friday.

10,000 Apatin Residents Rally

LD1709212488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Apatin, Sept 17 (TANJUG) –Some 10,000 residents of the Yugoslav town of Apatin and its vicinity today attended a rally of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo who are under pressure from Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Thousands of people and delegations of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo also attended rallies in Karavukovo and Ratkovo in the autonomous province of Vojvodina and in the town of Tesic in the Republic of Serbia.

Today's rallies were held to express dissatisfaction over the fact that the Kosovo drama, which began in 1981 with the riots staged in that Yugoslav autonomous province by Albanian chauvinists and separatists, is taking too much time to resolve. Back in 1981, it was demanded that Kosovo be made ethnically pure and granted the status of a republic, which was all to lead to its secession from Yugoslavia.

Those attending the rallies demanded that all Kosovo residents be enabled to live peacefully and with dignity, and also urged strong measures to eliminate pressures by Albanian chauvinists and separatists on Serbs and Montenegrins to migrate from Kosovo.

They also called for extraordinary congresses of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the war veteran's organization at which resolute steps to end the social and economic crisis in Yugoslavia are to be taken.

They also criticized those officials who have grown aloof from the people and are interested in their own careers in a clearly bureacratic manner and strive only to preserve their own positions.

Kosovo Serbs Protest Meetings

AU1809184888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Protest Meetings in Kosovo"]

[Text] Ljubizda Near Prizren: Albanians Join In [subhead]

The inhabitants of the local commune of Ljubizda near Prizren held a meeting following a petition by 70 inhabitants of Serb nationality that was sent to the Prizren LC Communal Committee, the local primary school, and the village organs. The signatories of the petition said that if all negative events and mistakes made by the local school were not publicly revealed, they would stop sending their children to the school.

The villagers expressed their indignation because Jordanka Stanojevic, who worked in the local school with preschoolers was fired recently. In the Ljubizda town hall there were more than 300 inhabitants of Serb nationality. Later, they were joined by a few members of Albanian and Muslim nationalities.

Decani: Indignation at Attempted Rape [subhead]

More than 100 hundred Serbs and Montenegrins gathered in front of the Decani Assembly building and expressed their indignation at the attempted rape the previous day by Suljo Gasi of V.L., a minor of Montenegrin nationality. The protesters described this loathsome act as a hostile act and demanded that respective organs rigorously punish the attacker.

Opening the gathering, the first of this kind in Decani, Veselin Nedovic said that the meeting was not organized by the so-called emissaries, but that it was the committed misdeed that forced them to hold it. He also mentioned several examples of physical attacks on the members of Serb and Montenegrin nationality, numerous damage cause to land, the desecration of gravestones, and the digging up of Serbian orthodox cemeteries.

Ostojan Near Istok: Continuous Pressure [subhead]

Last night, the inhabitants of the local commune of Ostojan held a protest meeting because of increasing attacks by Albanian separatists, intensified emigration from the province, unbalanced regional development, and inconsistent implementation of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum on Kosovo.

In front of the Ostojan primary school there were about 500 villagers from this and other villages. The gathering was also attended by Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the entire communal leadership. Speaking from an improvised rostrum, the speakers stressed in particular very frequent attacks by Albanian separatists on the integrity, dignity, and property of Serbs and Montenegrins in this region, anomalies in finding employment, shortcoming in the cadre policy, and the need for a faster solution to the Kosovo drama.

The participants in the meeting called for the dismissal of Azem Vlasi, Nebi Gasi, Kolj Siroka, Josip Vrhovec, Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, and some other top officials.

Ratkovo Citizens Deomonstrate

LD1709191988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Summary] Ratkovo, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—The inhabitants of the village of Ratkovo, in Vojvodina, expressed support for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo at a solidarity meeting today. The meeting was attended by more than 3,000 people from the area and from other parts of Vojvodina. It was also attended by about 100

Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. The meeting sent messages to the central committees of the LCY and Serbian LC and to the provincial committees of Vojvodina and Kosovo, calling for the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee to be public and for an uncompromising settling of accounts with all organizations and individuals showing negative tendencies. Failing this, the meeting supports the convening of an extraordinary LCY congress.

Vojvodina Daily on Crvenka Slogan in Hungarian

AU1609184888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 88 p 4

[Z. Serences report: "A Welcome With Mistakes"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 7 Sep—"We are living during serious times—too serious. Demonstrations and demonstrators have been increasing in number and discontent is becoming more intensive. There were demonstrations in Crvenka on Sunday and people there were raising fists and waving banners. It would be good to write down every slogan shouted or written on a banner, because they are valuable documents of our times, Istvan Nemet wrote in Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO yesterday and added the following:

"The author of these lines has written down only one slogan which appeared on a banner, regardless of the fact that it has that usual impersonal style: 'Jol jottek hozank kedves barataink!' (literal translation: 'Welcome, dear friends' —translation by Z.S.). The banner stood out among the host of banners written in Serbo-Croatian, but that suited the demonstrators very much, because thus they could prove to the world that theirs is not a single-nationality rally, that peoples and nationalities of the province are among them, in this case representatives of the Hungarian nationality."

Nemet then stressed the following in particular:

"Only, we Hungarians do not, as a habit, express welcome in this way. We say: 'Isten hozott benetekett' ('God has sent you'—translation by Z.S.). Or, if we want to avoid mentioning God, then we do it in this way: 'Koszontjuk kedves vendegeinket' ('We greet our dear guests'—translation by Z.S.). After this, the author of these lines simply has to ask: Where was this only seemingly Hungarian banner written? For, if it was nevertheless written in Crvenka, then the local Hungarians are not Hungarians 'in their language,' but only 'in their memories,' or they are being manipulated."

Albanian Nationalist Pamphlets Found in Pristina

AU1709173888 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Pamphlets with hostile contents from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism were found in 15 places in Pristina yesterday. Recalling the decisions of the Conference of Bujan, the separatists incited Albanians to an armed uprising, and attacked LCY policies, brotherhood and unity, and the constitutional order. The security services were informed the pamphlets distributed in the University Library and in other places by citizens. Members of the Provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs and of the State Security Services are at work to discover who distributed the pamphlets with hostile contents.

Presidium's Setinc Discusses Party, State Unity

LD1709120488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1014 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is in a difficult crisis, the most difficult post-war crisis. We cannot extricate ourselves from it by creating some sort of "unity" by making everything uniform and generalizing it. This would only make the crisis worse. Just as we must provide the motivation for the workers and collectives to be well-prepared to manage the resources at their disposal, so also our nations and nationalities, too, must be "motivated" to build the kind of federal community in which they will be more rather than less free and sovereign, and in which they will fulfill the joint interests that separately they would not be able to fulfill so successfully. This road runs through pains and difficulties, said Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his interview for the weekly TELEKS in which, among other things, he spoke of the atmosphere and work in the party presidium, about stormy events in the SR of Serbia, about constitutional changes, and about economic reform.

Answering the question that one constantly hears criticism about disunity in the party leadership and expressing doubts as to whether this leadership in fact ever could be unanimous, since it represents the various parts of Yugoslavia which are moving in increasingly different directions, Setinc said that we were talking about unity as a realistic balance of forces and not as a phrase used for politicking reasons and manipulations. In our Presidium, too, there is less and less demand for unity as such, whereas the present thinking increasingly is concentrated on what our unity should be built on, on which issues crucial for our future. For such unity, energy has to be invested. When, to give an example, there is a question of what socialism, what market, etc., we must have, we first of all must see the differences, respect them, and take them into account instead of being dismayed over them. Differences are part of life, and this is why they do not depend on whether we want them or not, whether we acknowledge them or not. Of course, I am thinking of legitimate differences, and not of the artificial, invented, inflated, or negatively politicized ones. Differences are a condition for the survival and development of Yugoslavia. We can overcome some differences, but there are many we cannot overcome simply because they are there and will remain so. We must learn to live with them and we must not consider them an aggravating circumstance or superfluous burden.

Answering a question regarding the situation in the Presidium, Setinc stressed that more or less creative discussions are held during the LCY Central Committee Presidium sessions. There is no despondency or fear, but fairly sharp confrontations occur; they are an integral part of the creative process, if only the result were more tangible. We are aware that we are at a crucial crossroad, and I cannot say that no one is conscious of this crucial responsibility. We also realize that we could be more successful. We can see that things are difficult and that even the foundations could crumble. We constantly are confronting the question of what to do. The stances concerning this are different.

Speaking of the events in the SR of Serbia, Setinc stressed that they are tied up with the most serious economic crisis since the war and that all issues of socialism's further development are at stake. As far as intranational relations are concerned, it is not only the question of the free development of small nations and nationalities which is involved. The example of Serbia makes it clear that the status of big nations is involved. Obviously during Lenin's lifetime, they thought that small nations alone have to be protected and that socialism allegedly would resolve the nationality question of big nations automatically. Later illusions emerged about merging the nations into new, socialist (Soviet) nations the backbone of which most likely would be the big nations. These fictions, which unfortunately had negative consequences, had the fortune of being crushed against the inexorable facts of the reality that is life.

Answering the TELEKS question whether there could be any kind of reconciliation between the socialist autonomous provinces [SAP] and "inner Serbia" and to what point the present situation could escalate, Setinc said that it is not reconciliation that is at stake, but a "new quality" of relations, the sort of solutions whereby the SR of Serbia as a unit really will be a republic and the SAP's of Vojvodina and Kosovo will have no less autonomy than they have now. This "reconciliation" must happen.

A host of problems have accumulated in Serbia, such as stagnating economic development, complex relations in the republic, the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, Kosovo, etc. There is nothing novel in this. These problems had their roots a decade or two ago. Here we can start a discussion on the substance and method of resolving these problems.

Reacting to the TELEKS journalists' claim that unacceptable and unlawful (?methods) are being employed (?to resolve) the complex situation, Setinc answered: What methods? Do you mean meetings? If we really are a democratic society, who can forbid the people from meeting? To resolve the intolerable conditions in which they live the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are employing all these methods which appear somewhat unusual to us, but which are quite legitimate. A rally or meeting as a form of expressing dissatisfaction or as an attempt to formulate "policy" for an efficient solution of genuine problems cannot rank as an unlawful method. However, I think differently of the meetings that represent pressure to have the problems resolved in the market place and not in legal democratic institutions. I do not accept meetings of "marchs" as a form of division, or of pressure on other nations, or as a form of violating intranational relations in another republic. I also am bothered by slogans, some of which are political and extremist, that are tantamount to sewing discord among the nations and nationalities throughout Yugoslavia. Someone has written that the current meetings in Serbia and elsewhere constitute regeneration of freedom. It would be better if the actions for a concrete solution of the problems in Kosovo, for stabilization of the economy, for our society to be better organized and supplied so that wages, bonds, and similar "life's blessings" need not be introduced, were to be that energy.

Kucan Views Rallies, Extraordinary Congress

AU1709170788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 88 p 3

[S. Festic report: "Big Head and Rickety Legs"]

[Text] Maribor, 11 Sep—Within the framework of the ideopolitical training of Maribor Communists, which is going to be held once a month in the future, Milan Kucan, president of the LC Central Committee of Slovenia, and Joze Smole, president of the SAWP Republican Conference of Slovenia, visited Maribor yesterday.

Speaking about the current difficult situation in the country and the crisis which has penetrated our economy and society in general, Milan Kucan pointed out that the crucial point about the present crisis in Slovenia was April 1981 when the conclusions of the Conference of the LC of Slovenia were not realized in practice. Kucan said that the conference's mobilizing effect was poor. Speaking about the activity of alternative political groups in Slovenia, he asked himself whether this was good or not, not knowing the right answer. If there is no intelligentsia in the economy, we shall not and cannot win the battle that we plan to win.

Speaking about the role of the SAWP, he said that it seemed to him that, like the LC, it has a big head and rickety legs.

We in the LC, he stressed, know only that there is great discontent in our country with the fact that many conclusions are not implemented. He mentioned the work of Mikulic's commission, pointing out that we must not have suspicions about it and expressed belief that the commission's work will result in something specific and good for Yugoslavia.

When speaking about protest meetings in Serbia, he reiterated his old thought: If Serbs and Montenegrins can come to Slovenia, then let Albanians come too.

He said that he is not delighted with the idea on extraordinary congress and with 2-day meetings of our sociopolitical organizations, because he is afraid that we shall forget about work and obligations and only hold meetings. The LC of Slovenia would agree with some people's proposal that an extraordinary LCY congress be held, if the congress would adopt a new political platform for Yugoslavia. However, if what is involved is only the settling of accounts between political forces, we do not need such a congress. The LC should finally be directed to move into action.

Milan Kucan Opposes 'Protest Rallies'

LD1709203788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Novo Mesto, Yugoslavia, Sept 17 (TANUG)—The wave of national and social unrest and increasing econmic and political uncertainty in the country are problems which cannot be resolved by resorting to force, Slovenian Communist Party leader Milan Kucan said today.

Speaking at a meeting in Novo Mesto organized to mark the anniversary of the start of the construction of Yugoslavia's major highway, Kucan warned that the idea of socialism would be irreparably compromised by yielding to the increasingly loud demands for the use of repressive methods.

On the frequent protest meetings in Yugoslavia falling for an end to the drama of the Serbs and Montenegrins in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and blaming certain former and current senior officials for the situation in the province, Kucan said that such rallies cannot be supported.

At such meetings, he said, ethnic passions flare up, Yugoslavia's constitution is changed and people accused without argument only for thinking differently. During the past two months, many protest rallies were called in Yugoslavia because of the pogrom of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins by Albanian chauvinists and separatists. Ethnic Albanians make up the majority, or 80 percent of the population in Kosovo.

The protest meetings, attended by about 250,000 people so far, have provoked different, often completely opposed reactions in the leaderships of the Yugoslav republics and provinces and in the media.

The top party leadership assessed that the organization of such meetings is not the way to resolve the difficult situation in Kosovo.

Marinc Says Meetings Are Not 'Right Way'

AU1709185388 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The festivities on the 100th anniversary of the local association of volunteer fire fighters concluded this afternoon at Sentvid near Ljubljana. The people gathered were addressed by Andrej Marinc, honorary president of the organizational committee of Sentvid fire fighters, who spoke about the importance and history of fire fighters. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the present economic difficulties, Comrade Marinc also touched on the situation in Kosovo. He stressed:

[Begin Marinc recording] In addition to our own Slovene worries, we are also concerned about the situation in Kosovo and in Serbia. Kosovo has become a dangerous hotbed of instability in Yugoslavia. Irredentism and counterrevolution will not rest. Serbian, Montenegrin, and other people are alarmed and threatened. Human and national relations are dangerously affected.

We must help to pacify the situation so that people will feel safe in our common motherland. In addition to Serbia and federation, all of us in Yugoslavia are responsible for it. However, the majority in Kosovo, which is to say the Albanian people, are most responsible for the situation.

The meetings in support of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins that have spread in Serbia and in some other places are in fact an internal affair of those people, and especially of Serbia. Nevertheless: Is this the right way to change the situation? We are convinced that it is not, especially if we judge these meetings according to some slogans that are inadmissible and cause concern. [end recording]

Provinces Oppose Serbian Stand on Rallies

AU1809151988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 88 p 2

[D. Drazis, V. Krsmanovic report: "The Provinces Were Against the Stands"]

[Text] Late last night after 16 hours work and under the second item on the agenda of current questions, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium discussed the demand that came by telex from the LCY Central Committee Presidium which asks the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium to take a stand on mass rallies. Chairman Slobodan Milosevic explained that this message could not be copied and distributed as it was not to be published and was not for the public, so it was read out. He also said that a working group of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium had prepared draft stands on which the members of the presidium and the Serbian Presidency would openly decide. According to Zoran Sokolovic, Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium secretary, in formulating the proposed stands on which the members of the Presidency and the Presidium were briefed during a short break, account was taken of everything that was said at this session on the holding of

public meetings, name-calling, and press accusations, about which the LCY Central Committee Presidium was now seeking more specific attitudes.

After they were acquainted with the proposed text of the stands, several members took the floor. Kacusa Jasari first of all repeated part of her earlier speech on the meetings and added that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium had accepted the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee's 16th session and the stand of its Presidium.

"I could not agree with the explanation that is proposed here that this is in fact the stand of Stipe Suvar, the president, and not the stand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium," said Jasari.

According to Ratomir Vico, it is obvious that this is a question of different interpretations of the stands of the 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum. We interpret these stands in the spirit of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee. Vico then recalled the chronology of the announcement which was given by the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the protest meetings, claiming that the part about banning the meetings reflected the attitude of the LCY Central Committee Presidium's information service and not of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We respect the stand on the contribution of Communists in stopping the protest rallies and meetings and we are implementing it at this actual session in supporting the idea that the problems in Kosovo should be solved, as only then will the meetings stop.

Kacusa Jasari again took the floor and specified that she was not against these meetings which are a revolt against and reaction to specific misdeeds, but she was against artificially organized rallies. Remzi Koljgeci asked whether only the attitude of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium was being sought or that of this Presidium and the Serbian Presidency as well, while Milovan Sogorov added that he was not prepared at that late hour to talk about this. Nandor Major also expressed a lack of readiness and Bajram Gasi was certain that what was suggested "in the reply" was in contradiction to the stands of the 16th LCY Central Committee Presidium. Gasi added: "I would like to ask the chairman what he thinks about the songs which are sung about him at these rallies." The chairman Slobodan Milosevic commented "that we should not be obsessed with ourselves nor with our own personalities, either when we are being criticized or when we are being praised."

Svetislav Stojakov asked with whom so many polemics were being held. "There is a lot of polemicizing and some negative comments. The text is not good and I cannot agree with such a proposal. A new one should be written which should contain more initiative and fewer polemics," said Stojakov.

The text of the proposed stands was then endorsed by a large majority—representatives from both provinces were against it.

Croat LC Secretary Comments on Vrhovec Mention

AU1609165088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 88 p 10

[TANJUG report: "The Stance of the LCY Central Committee Needed First"]

[Text] Split, 4 Sep—The foundations of Yugoslavia are being called into question, and if reformist measures are not taken urgently, the situation may become critical in 6 months. Therefore, any sluggishness, hesitation, or waiting for better times—and waiting can only bring on a worse and a more complex situation—not only means being anti-reform, but will directly affect the fate of Yugoslavia such as it is now, and open room for a different option concerning its existence. This is what Dragutin Dimitrovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Croatia, said in the talks with the Split political aktiv the day before yesterday.

Touching upon the protection of constitutionality and legality, among other things Dimitrovic said that the efficient functioning of the state is already one of the strategic questions—obvious gaps in the functioning of the state and legal system must be overcome.

Discussing Josip Vrhovec's name being mentioned, Dimitrovic said the following: "You have read that a number of LCY Central Committee members were named. Many people ask themselves what our position is in the case of the naming of Comrade Josip Vrhovec. Personally, I do not agree with what had been said about Vrhovec, but we in the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Croatia decided not to react and not to present our viewpoint. If we speak about 'our' member in the LCY Central Committee, we would therefore have to speak about others too, and that made us think about the matter and measure what one should say about it and where that would lead. If every republican body started defending 'its' member of the LCY Central Committee, would that not turn into a sort of bickering among republican party organs? Would it not be better if the LCY Central Committee states its opinion on the matter? We decided on the latter in order to create a reasonable atmosphere with a dialogue in the place where it, in our opinion, should be held. For things are so complex that we must take it upon ourselves to create a climate of understanding and tolerance, and must create a synthesis, instead of differences, through a democratic all-Yugoslav dialogue," Dimitrovic concluded.

Belgrade Lawyers on Officials' Responsibility

AU1709172588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Legal Aid Free of Charge"]

[Text] Belgrade lawyers have unanimously accepted the proposal to create a body consisting of about 10 lawyers

who would offer legal aid free of charge to disenfranchised Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. The lawyers will also defend citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina free of charge, because they want to fight for honor and freedom of every citizen our republic.

Names Called [subhead]

Speaking about the difficult situation in Kosovo and in the country, the attorneys of the capital have demanded that the following people be called to account: Stane Dolanc, Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, Ilijaz Kurtesi, Sinan Hasani, Rahman Morina, Nebi Gasi, Saip Trnava, Ilija Vakic, Svetislav Dolasevic, Nedeljko Pupovac, Zoran Djokic, Zoran Djordjevic, Josip Vrhovec, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, Petar Matic, Bosko Krunic, Bora Drmondzic, Milovan Sogorov, Djordje Stojsic, Miroslav Francuski, Djordje Radosavljevic, Trifo Doru, Zivko Mali....

The following people have been named for their alienation from the people and for remaining silent in this part of Serbia for years: Dragoslav Markovic, Tihomir Vlaskalic, Ivan Stambolic, and Dragisa Pavlovic.

Vojvodina Industry To Aid Kosovo Development

LD1809221288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Industry in Vojvodina is setting aside a quarter of its accumulation, which is in any case meager, for the more rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. As was stressed at yesterday's session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, this is the clearest proof of the extent to which Vojvodina is setting aside resources for the more rapid development of the undeveloped regions, primarily Kosovo.

This year alone industry in Vojvodina set aside some 58 billion dinars of its accumulated capital for pooling with business representatives in Kosovo, and of that sum 43 billion dinars is already allocated to a sizeable number of industrial and other facilities. [passage omitted]

Veteran's Official Pekic Resigns 15 Sep

LD1709092588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—Dusan Pekin, Secretary of the SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia] Federal Presidium Board tendered his resignation today.

In a brief explanation, Pekic stated that he decided to make this move "in order to maintain the unity of the republics and provinces within SUBNOR's leadership."

The following is the text of Pekic's resignation, which he sent to the SUBNOR Federal Board:

"Having been informed at today's meeting of the presidents of the republican and provincial SUBNOR board by Comrade Bojan Polak, president of the Slovene SUBNOR Republican Board Presidium, and Comrade Borka Korac, member of the Croat SUBNOR Republican Board Presidium, that in the opinion of the two presidiums I can no longer remain in the post of secretary of the SUBNOR Federal Board Presidium, and in order to maintain the unity of the republics and provinces in the leadership of the SUBNOR of Yugoslavia, I have decided to resign as secretary of the Yugoslav SUBNOR Federal Board Presidium."

Commentary on Language in Military Courts

AU1609112588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Sep 88 p 2

[Jovan Pjevic commentary: "Confused Principles"]

[Text] With the series of articles under the general title "Slovene Language as a Metaphor" Mirko Mlakar and BORBA have made a significant contribution to understanding more accurately the principle of the equality of languages in the SFRY and to removing inherited wrong attitudes and many fallacies in this sphere which is important for good intranational relations.

The contribution of the aforementioned series would have been even greater had it not been for some principled questions, particularly in the fourth installment, which have remained incomplete and as such allow various interpretations of constitutional provisions pertaining to the equality of languages in general and to the languages in official use. These two constitutional provisions are often confused with one another. The former is of a general nature and guarantees the equality of languages of peoples and nationalities on the territory of Yugoslavia which means, according to Article 170 of the SFRY Constitution, that the "citizen (irrespective of his national affiliation) is guaranteed the freedom to use his own language and script," and, according to Article 214, that "a lack of knowledge of the language which is used in a proceedings (in a court, before state organs, etc—our note) must not be an obstacle to defending and realizing the rights and justified interests of citizens and organizations" and that "everybody is guaranteed the right to use his own language in any proceedings before a court or before state organs, organizations of associated labor, or other self-managing organizations and communities which, in the course of performing their public duties make decisions on rights and obligations of citizens, and the right to be informed about the facts in this procedure in his own language."

Therefore, these provisions apply to all SFRY citizens irrespective of their national affiliation, as well as to citizens of other countries when they find themselves involved in proceedings before our organs and institutions. What is involved, therefore, are general human freedoms and rights guaranteed to them by our Constitution.

The constitutional provision on the languages in official use in the SFRY represents an important element of the statehood and sovereignty both of individual federal units and of the Federation as the "federal state and state community." Therefore, Article 246 of the SFRY Constitution prescribes that "in the SFRY, the languages of the peoples are in official use, (and the languages of nationalities are used in conformity with this Constitution and the federal law.") However, it does not prescribe, for instance, that federal organs should work only in Serbo-Croatian (or Macedonian, or Slovene), save for Article 243 which says that in military orders and training in the Yugoslav People's Army one of the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia may be used, in conformity with the federal law (therefore, it does not say that the language must automatically be Serbo-Croatian, although the legislator has decided on this language for practical reasons), and the languages of peoples and nationalities may be used in parts of the Yugoslav Peoples Army.

Since there is no "language of the federation," as some people erroneously think, but federal organs are obliged to equally use all three languages of our peoples, and since federal organs are not extraterritorial, it is completely logical that apart from the provisions of the SFRY Constitution on the languages in official use in the SFRY, the provisions of republican constitutions on the language in official use on the territory of individual SR's also apply to them.

According to Article 212 of the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, all state and other organs (regardless whether they are republican, communal, or federal), organizations, communities, and individuals who perform a public service on the territory of the SR of Slovenia, should work in Slovene while, at the same time, everybody is guaranteed the use of his own language and script in realizing his rights and obligations, as well as in proceedings before state and other organs, organizations, and communities which perform public service, and that the side conducting the proceedings must inform the individual about documents and its work in his own language and in the way prescribed by the law. Other republican constitutions include identical or essentially similar provisions.

Therefore, since the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia is not at variance with the SFRY Constitution, and the latter includes only the general provision that the languages of the peoples are in official use in the SFRY (and languages of nationalities are used according to this constitution and the federal law), it is completely natural that federal bodies must use Slovene on the territory of the SR of Slovenia, Macedonian on the territory of the SR of Macedonia, and Croato-Serbian (Serbo-Croatian) in other republics and in doing so must consistently obey the constitutional provision on the equality of all languages in the SFRY in general. This applies both to organs and institutions and to individuals performing a public duty. This in fact means that somebody whose mother tongue is Serbo-Croatian and performs a public service on the territory of the SR of Slovenia must perform it in Slovene there and in Macedonian when on the territory of the SR of Macedonia and vice versa, while citizens who appear as parties have the right to use their mother tongue.

These provisions apply to military courts too, regardless of the fact that they have the status of federal organs and regardless of the mother tongue of the judge. These courts, as well as other bodies and institutions cannot decide themselves what language they will use, but have to comply with respective provisions of both the SFRY Constitution and republican constitutions. If the Law on Military Courts or the regulations on their work prescribe that the language in their official use is Croato-Serbian, for instance, then such regulations are unconstitutional and, as such, invalid.

Army Paper Commentary on Rights Committee
AU1809153188 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2564 1 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "What Do the Members of the Committee Actually Want?"]

[Text] We have before us a letter which the Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council at the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia has addressed to the chief and responsible editor of NARODNA ARMIJA. It contains the text of the submission that the committee sent to the SFRY Presidency and which our newspaper has commented upon. Unfortunately, even this letter cannot remain unanswered, primarily because it constitutes a very grave and dangerous attack on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] with far-reaching political consequences. If one reads the entire text of the letter by the Initiative Committee, it is easy to conclude that this introductory statement is not blanket "political disqualification." And another thing: Everything contained in the committee submission is pure politics, and therefore the deserved disqualification of its baseless and completely unacceptable content cannot be but political.

Let us proceed in the proper order, following the content of the Initiative Committee letter. It begins with an appeal to the Law on the Foundations of the Public Information System; it constitutes a peculiar reproach to the commentary in our newspaper published under the title "New Unscrupulous Speculations."

We are publishing the letter in full. We are doing this both on the basis of the above-mentioned law and because of our conviction, which is based on more than journalistic ethics, that our army public and others must be objectively informed about such a major political intrigue.

"Material" From MLADINA [subhead]

It is well known that DELO, organ of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, carried our newspaper commentary but omitted all its most important parts, above all the complete contents of hostile propaganda because of which soldier Tomo Bogataj was convicted. If the future "child" of the Initiative Committee, the Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council, should with its "independent activities" "contribute to the development of human rights and freedoms as a basic condition for the development of democratic socialism," the question logically appears as to what the committee has done to inform the public in the community where it works objectively about the question that it raises and about the commentary in our newspaper. The right to true information emanates from the said law, but it is also one of the basic human rights and a condition for a democratic development of socialism. If this is so, why does the Initiative Committee not struggle so that this right may be assured to the readers of Slovene language media? However, this letter also indicates the possibility that the only "material" that the Initiative Committee stands by and that it wants to impose on the public, even as an exclusive argument and evidence supporting the gravest accusations and suspicions, is the "material" that was published in MLADINA. Now if one bears in mind what sort of untruths and unfounded insinuations MLADINA published previously, insinuations to which not only the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, SFRY Assembly committees, and most leaderships of the sociopolitical organizations, but also the federal public prosecutor had to react on several occasions and if additionally one bears in mind that one editor, one journalist, and one contributor of MLADINA were convicted by a court of first instance of a criminal act against the Armed Forces recently, one should really not envy those who enjoy the right to such kind of information. On the contrary, somebody should have protected them from such kind of "information" a long time ago, among other things on the basis of the law invoked by the Initiative Committee.

We previously commented on the Initiative Committee's submission itself. However, the same community has continued to sow mistrust in the Yugoslav People's Army, although we have not learned of a single argument or piece of evidence that would have confirmed a single grave assertion and accusation raised in the submission. This being so, somebody should be called to account because of this intrigue that has been planted on the SFRY Presidency and the entire domestic and foreign public.

Who in Fact Disturbs the Public [subhead]

That, as regards responsibility and disturbing the public in the region where the Initiative Committee is at work everything does not run as reason and valid laws would require, is indicated by the criminal charges brought by the public prosecutor of the Basic Public Prosecutor Office in Ljubljana. Instead of filing charges against the Initiative Committee, he filed them against the responsible editor of NARODNA ARMIJA because of the criminal act of spreading false rumors. In contrast to the cases of MLADINA editor F. Zavrl and of A. Novak, member of the TELEKS editorial council, in which the federal public prosecutor assumed criminal prosecution under his legal powers because the respective local public prosecutor failed to find any reason for a prosecution and in contrast to many other cases when he was obliged to react in pursuance of his office, considering that cases of spreading false rumors, slandering the YPA, and insulting the SFRY respect were involved, said prosecutor was very swift on this occasion.

We do not know whether he was incited by the suggestions of one of the numerous committees, but it is significant that in contrast to previous slowness when he had to protest the respect of the country and of the YPA, he brought criminal charges in a few days and hurried to make in this connection a press statement about the NARODNA ARMIJA commentary, a statement containing grave insinuations and plants.

The appropriate military prosecutor will decide on the criminal charges filed. Regardless of this, the assessment that the Ljubljana public prosecutor made about the NARODNA ARMIJA article deserves some comment so that his press statement may not cause unfounded alarm among the public.

In his statement (as the press reports), the public prosecutor stressed that the article incorrectly interpreted the Initiative Committee statement that the committee criticizes the military courts because they still apply the provisions of Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Law (hostile propaganda), while courts in the SR of Slovenia do not apply these provisions.

We are publishing the full text of the submission by the Initiative Committee, and there should be no confusion as regards the references to Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Law. The relevant passage in fact contains two assertions: that military courts continue to apply Article 133 of the Criminal Law, and that they apply this legal provision in a professionally inadmissible broad interpretation which allows all kinds of misuses detrimental to human rights. It follows that military courts have applied and continue to apply this legal provision in a way that is not lawful.

It goes without saying that a valid legal provision is applied by military courts. As regards the extent of this provision's application, which is to say the professionally admissible or inadmissible breadth of the interpretation, it should be pointed out that all the rulings (sentences) by military courts in these matters were reexamined by the Federal Court in all the cases when an appropriate request was made. In the past 3 years, that court made an extraordinary reexamination of seven such military

court sentences, and it did not reverse any. This demonstrates sufficiently that military courts never applied this provision "in a professionally inadmissible broad interpretation."

Criminal Acts Are Not Being Combatted [subhead]

According to statistical data, it appears that the provision of Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Law has virtually not been applied by the courts in the SR of Slovenia in recent years. Numerous facts show, however, that such criminal acts do in fact occur in that territory. Several articles in some newspapers and some other public information media have been disparaging the values protected by Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Law for some time, and various slogans and articles have been "sprouting" recently which in their essence are hostile propaganda, but public prosecutors in Slovenia—as much as we can learn from public information media there—do nothing to combat such criminal acts. Slogans as "Down with the YPA," "Hang the Serbs," "Chain the Bosnians" (and there are some that are worse) undoubtedly are hostile propaganda under Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Law. Criminal sanctions should be applied to calling YPA personnel publicly "occupiers," "southern mob," "Gypsy Asiatics," and calling generals "a second Rupnik" (which is to say a war criminal), and statements such as "I do not want to speak swine language," "You soldiers should be hanged," "You should all be chased out of Slovenia," "One Yugo, but not for long," and so forth, but we have had no opportunity to hear that such sanctions are applied.

The question is forced on us: What sort of a legal state is this, what sort of democracy, that the Initiative Committee says it supports, when it is sought that valid laws adopted by the highest authority in the country should not be applied (which in itself is against the law and undemocratic), not even in the case of gross hostile propaganda as committed by soldier Tomo Bogataj. YPA security and military juridical organs that perform their duties within their powers under the law are most crudely attacked through insinuations, but this is not seen as any violation of rights, not even human rights. One should add to this that the content of the Initiative Committee statement is such that criminal proceedings could be initiated against those who drafted it. According to the law, the proceedings should be initiated by the respective public prosecutor at the Basic Public Prosecutor Office in Ljubljana, but he is the one who brought criminal charges against the NARODNA ARMIJA editor.

This prosecutor did not indicate that the Initiative Committee statement refers to the Tomo Bogataj case. The statement was an unscrupulous attack on the YPA security organs and the military judiciary, which one does not have to prove. It is enough the read the statement.

So much about the Initiative Committee's submission. If anything has remained unclear as regards the intentions of those who prepared it, the further text of the letter dispels any doubts.

Arbitrary Suspicions and Accusations [subhead]

Being unable to offer any evidence of violation of the law by the YPA military security organs and the military judiciary, the Initiative Committee seeks a peculiar and significant way out of the situation in which it entangled itself. It imagines its activities to consist of casting suspicion in a completely arbitrary fashion, without evidence and without any consequences for itself, on any official institution and above all the YPA, of violating human rights and freedoms, and even accusing them of criminal acts. It even threatens the SFRY Presidency with a break-out of "public dissatisfaction if the activities of the military security organs and the military judiciary continue."

The Initiative Committee is accordingly supposed to be not only above the laws that are in force, but also to control their implementation—of course according to its own lights. Thus it would not only take over the functions held in the system of leadership and command by the SFRY Presidency as the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces and the function held by the SFRY Assembly, but also wishes to assume the right of some kind of a supreme control over these organs. It is acceptable to the Initiative Committee that the YPA security organs be put under its control, as well as the military juridical organs, as well as the press which can take on a democratic aureole only if it writes according to its views, or if it imitates MLADINA. O tempora, o mores!

It is not necessary to demonstrate to the committee members with sonorous titles that setting up an initiative committee with the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference of a republic cannot suspend the Constitution and valid laws that regulate the powers, the rights, and the duties of the YPA and its several organs. The committee members should know, as any law novice knows, that suspicion without any evidence has no legal effect. The committee nevertheless insists on the principle that suspicion is sufficient evidence in itself. Does this mean that our suspicion of the good intentions of the committee is evidence that its intentions indeed are not good? However, as regards these intentions, we have evidence: the letter by the Initiative Committee.

Is not the silence on the evidence on the basis of which criminal proceedings were started against Tomo Bogataj according to the law, and the launching of unsupported accusations against YPA organs a peculiar kind of manipulation, or rather a method which the committee says in its letter that it belongs to some other times? Is not the assertion in the committee letter that "the submission did not state anything, it only submitted arguments and evidence..." comical, to say the least,

when everybody who reads the submission can see that it contains grave assertions without any argument or evidence, and when the committee says in the same passage of its letter that it is not obliged to provide evidence for its accusations?

The committee is not shy of attributing a Stalinist essence to the Army. Is it really possible that the well-educated signatories of the letter expect somebody to believe the illogical assertion that the Army, which was most exposed to the pressure as well as the shots of Stalinism, has become Stalinist only because it does not allow itself to become a "service" (to use DELO's expression) of a committee, whatever its ambitions may be? Is not precisely the affixing of labels and the planting of unfounded suspicions, in the way that the committee does it in this letter again, one of the well-known methods of Stalinism?

Whom Does (Not) the Committee Protect? [subhead]

Regardless of the fact that various committees resort to Stalinist and other infamous propaganda methods precisely in their attacks on the YPA, we are much more concerned by the fact that even some official institutions, such as the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia through this Initiative Committee (as well as the public prosecutor mentioned above) are joining in the anti-Army campaign, whose aims and protagonists are well known. One could say that this opened a new stage in this campaign which is marked by escalation in both the forms and the content of the attacks on the YPA.

Because of such serious political implications it is time for reacting most energetically and publicly to every fresh attack on the YPA and the system of all-people's defense. The most essential matter clearly shows in the Initiative Committee statement: It does not merely want power, it wants something more: It wants to control power, not as an equal subject in democratic relations within a system determined by the Constitution, but as a supreme and exclusive judge. If it were a matter merely of the fate of people and the defense of their rights, the Initiative Committee surely should bear in mind the human rights of so-called southerners in some parts of the SR of Slovenia, including YPA personnel and their families. Why does the committee protect only the four convicted by the Ljubljana military court of the criminal act of disclosing military secrets, and said soldier Bogataj, convicted of hostile propaganda? Why does it protect only perpetrators of criminal acts, and not those who respect laws? The committee would have its hands full if it really protected the rights of people.

Cynicism Toward Army Personnel [subhead]

Because of all of this, the sentence in the letter in which the committee expresses its conviction that "the great majority of the YPA personnel also support such idea of democratic centralism" sounds cynical. Not only a great majority but virtually all the YPA personnel are resolutely against such an idea of democratic socialism as preached and practiced by the Initiative Committee. YPA personnel are unreservedly in favor of the further building of socialist self-managing democracy, but it should be based on the Constitution and the laws and not on the principles propagated by an initiative committee whose appearance on the public scene glaringly coincides with the beginning of the Ljubljana trial of the four accused of the criminal act of disclosing military secrets.

Finally, it appears that, as far as the stealing of documents is concerned, in this case the ever-present MLADINA, could not be avoided again. It appears from the letter that the Initiative Committee was forced to inform the public about the initiative it had "discreetly" sent to the SFRY Presidency because MLADINA had somehow gotten "hold" of this "discreet" document.

Therefore, in addition to the shorthand notes from the closed session of LCY Central Committee Presidium and the secret military document, MLADINA came now in the possession of this "discreet" document. What kind of work is the paper's editorial board in fact involved in? Despite the fact that we cannot agree with this method of gathering "material," in this case its publication has one positive aspect: The public has at least learned what the Initiative Committee strives for and who its allies are.

Milosevic Receives Macedonian LC Officials

AU1809183388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 88 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Macedonian LC Central Committee Officials on Working Visit in Serbian LC Central Committee"]

[Text] (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, yesterday received the officials of the Macedonian LC Central Committee led by Risto Lazarov, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, who are paying a working visit to the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, and held a fairly long conversation with them.

As was reported, during their 3-day visit to Belgrade the guests of the Serbian LC Central Committee were also received by Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee. Yesterday, they visited the POLITIKA news organization and Belgrade radio and television. The purpose of this working visit is the usual exchange of views concerning the work in the fields of ideology and reporting.

Bosanska Krupa Metal Works Strike Ends

LD1609132488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Bosanska Krupa, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—After a 3-day work stoppage, all employees in the Bosanska Krupa metal works have returned to work. Of the 184

workers at this factory, only 66 voted to strike. It was agreed that the elaboration of new measures for evaluating all jobs in and phases of production would be accelerated, something which ought to remove the dissatisfaction of workers over low personal incomes.

Teachers in Radovis Stage Pay Protest Rally
LD1709110888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0756 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Summary] Radovis, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with average personal incomes of 220,000 dinars and the poor material position of primary education, some 200 teachers in Radovis have organized a protest rally, giving more than 3,600 primary schoolchildren in Radovis a day off from classes. The teachers are calling for an increase of 70 percent in personal incomes and for the dismissal of the secretary of the municipal self-managing community of interests for primary education.

Commentator Sundic Lauds Gorbachev Proposals
LD1709195388 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Here is our topical foreign political commentary. Milika Sundic discusses the warm winds from Siberia: The proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev to the PRC on holding a Sino-Soviet summit, and to the United States on freezing nuclear and other military potential in Asia:

[Sundic] Yesterday's speech by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Siberian town of Krasnoyarsk in which he called for the complete normalization of political relations with the PRC, including preparations for a Sino-Soviet summit meeting, and in which he also turned to the United States with a proposal to freeze nuclear and other military potential in Asia, represents a new impetus from the Soviet side to the Building of relations of complete trust and mutual understanding with the PRC and the United States. If Gorbachev's ideas meet with a favorable response, it would contribute to the stabilization of the situation in that part of the world and open a new page in the relations between the three great powers.

Of course, the offer to China has special importance, particularly if one considers Gorbachev's earlier proposal some 2 years ago that the leaders of the two neighboring socialist countries meet at any time and any place to examine overall mutual relations and take steps to improve them. However, at that time relations between Beijing and Moscow were not like they are now, nor were there any signs that the USSR could accept direct dialogue with the PRC over the situation in Cambodia. Also, at that time there was no talk of a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which is why China did not accept Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal. Now, in our view the situation is considerably more favorable, because in the past 2 years much has been done on the Soviet side in both directions. The withdrawal of Soviet units from Afghanistan began on 15 May, and there is a good chance that it will be completed by next February. The first Soviet-Chinese meeting at the deputy foreign minister level, devoted to the Cambodian situation, took place recently. The outcome of this meeting in Beijing's and Moscow's view was encouraging and could lead China to accept the idea of a Soviet-Chinese summit—all the more so when one recognizes that the PRC also desires such a meeting. China, just as much as the USSR, is anxious to fully normalize political relations between the two countries.

Talks on Cambodia will probably continue. If they lead to complete success, this would remove the main obstacle to the complete normalization of relations and would certainly open up the way for a Sino-Soviet summit. Whatever the case, China will most likely not remain indifferent to the latest initiative by Mikhail Gorbachev because it is, it would seem, founded on Moscow's firm conviction that an improvement in relations between the two countries is both desirable and possible.

As for the United States's initial reactions, and that of President Reagan, to Gorbachev's proposal, this should not be considered final, because the U.S. President clearly has not had time to study the initiative of the Soviet leader carefully. The initiative is, as in the first case, also based on the belief that a relaxation of tension can be achieved in Asia as well, as is the case in Europe following the Soviet-U.S. agreement on liquidating medium- and shorter-range missiles and initial indications that such progress can also be achieved on limiting strategic nuclear weapons as well.

Presidency Urges Acceptance of Nonaligned Summit
LD1609142988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 15 (TANJUG)—The unanimous decision of the nonaligned countries' ministerial conference in Nicosia that Yugoslavia host the movement's ninth summit has been assessed by the Yugoslav Presidency as an expression of confidence in and an acknowledgement of Yugoslavia's activities in the realization of the aims and principles of the policy of nonalignment, it was announced here today.

The announcement adds that the Presidency at its session yesterday "proceeding from such appraisals and the fact that Yugoslavia in this manner undertakes a great, responsible and honorable obligation in the interest of peace and development, progress in international relations and cooperation—which is the permanent interest of Yugoslavia and all nonaligned countries—in conclusion decided to propose to the Yugoslav Assembly to accept the staging of the nonaligned summit."

The Presidency pointed out the importance of the nonaligned countries' readiness to act even more resolutely towards the strengthening and further affirmation of the movement as a global and independent factor in current international developments.

The high level of unity on the most important questions the movement showed at the Nicosia conference, especially on the need for the nonaligned countries' to adapt more speedily to the dynamic changes in the world today, is a guarantee for the successful realization of the conference's decisions, the Yugoslav Presidency said.

Mikulic Receives Hungary's Medgyessy 15 Sep

LD1709084288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—In Belgrade this evening, FEC President Branko Mikulic received Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, who is on a visit to our country.

During the talks, which also were attended by FEC Vice President Janez Zemljarec, views were exchanged on Yugoslav-Hungarian economic cooperation, a number of issues concerning international relations, and the implementation of economic and social reforms in the two countries.

The two sides noted that bilateral relations were developing well and in keeping with the principles of good-neighborly relations and mutual respect and understanding. Both sides are striving to realize the agreements reached during this year's talks between FEC President Branko Mikulic and Hungarian Prime Minister Karoly Grosz. It was concluded that Yugoslav and Hungarian organs should become even further involved in the promotion of higher forms of economic cooperation.

Mikulic and Medgyessy also discussed relations in Europe, especially those with their neighbors. They laid special stress on the exceptional importance of insuring the consistent observance of the provisions of the Helsinki Final act, as well as the other documents adopted at meetings within the framwork of the CSCE Conference.

Medgyessy Talks With Officials

LD1809220688 Budapest MTI in English 1650 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 18 (MTI)—Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy made a short working visit in Yugoslavia. He met Janez Zemljaric, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, held talks with Egon Padovan, member of the federal government and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Committee for Economic Cooperation, and Dr Oszkar Kovacs, member of the federal government. In Zagrab Peter Medgyessy held talks with Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the federal Republic of Croatia, and Antun Milivic, president of the government of the republic.

In Belgrade Peter Medgyessy met Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

At the talks the parties reviewed the situatiion of bilateral economic cooperation, and underlined the joint intention to further develop bilateral contacts. It was stated that commercial and production cooperation of the border-zone territories is not only reciprocally advantageous but also strengthens the friendship of the two peoples.

The parties to talks reviewed opportunities for increasing bilateral trade and cooperation in suger beet procession, the production of machines and artificial fertilizer, for expanding Hungarian transit-transport of gas and oil to Yugoslavia along with the possible Hungarian participation in the refurbishement of the harbour of Split. Peter Medgyessy informed his partners to talks that Hungary lifts the compulsory purchase of forint having been imposed on Yugoslav citizens and Hungarian citizens do not need hard currency worth 3,000 forints either to visit Yugoslavia.

Imre Dunai, deputy minister of trade, who accompanied Peter Medgyessy to Yugoslavia, held talks with Djordje Hadzi-Mihajlovic, Yugoslav deputy minister of trade.